

THE CHINESE RECORDER

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A SHEAF OF CURRENT THOUGHTS

EDITORIAL

SUN YAT SEN

The story of the stately, reverential ceremonial of the national interment of China's latest hero has been told elsewhere. We need not repeat it. It is noteworthy, however, that Sun Yat Sen's entrance into China's Hall of Fame followed his life and efforts in much shorter time than is true of most of her heroic personalities: and that too in spite of the fact that he suffered from the inuendoes, criticisms, persecutions and malignant aspersions that many of their contemporaries burn into every national leader of prominence. Why this quick submergence of his critics in the hushed homage and heartfelt appreciation nationally accorded him? China has recognized that he was a patriot who spent his personal life in starting his people towards a new national life! To that aspect of this leader of four hundred millions of people we wish to add our meed of respect and appreciation. He lifted up, where all might see them, new political concepts and humanitarian aims. He strove to show his countrymen how they might be free, how government might be made more popular and how human life might be bettered. These concepts he offered not as idols to be worshipped with detached devotion but as ideals to be lived. The scope of these concepts and the magnitude of China prevent, it is true, any easy realization of his ideals: but they are accepted as the goals of China's future striving. The fruit of the struggles of himself and his compatriots is more

than a dynastic change: it means a change in the political principles of a nation. "His spirit," they say, "lives on." And view it how one may it is a *new* spirit! It has stirred China with new aspirations! What China may yet become no one dare say. Yet may one venture to declare that under the aegis of such a spirit China will become something new and better. No wonder, then, his mausoleum will stand out among those recorded national heroes anywhere.

Sun Yat Sen will not wear renown because he was a philosopher surpassing all those of China's past, nor because his political science carries final significance, nor because he was a unique and dominating organizer. Rather will he stand forth as one who strove to remake his people and release again their slumbering energy. In him they will see the moment of their greatest rebirth. He is the seer of a new order. He strove to actualize China's dream of a new life. He forced open the door to a new world. This he did for the oldest and most numerous people on the earth; a people that had been satisfied with its dream of past glories longer than any other. It is meet that this great people should honor the certain and abiding elements in his program and his life. To recall his frequent sufferings and his staggering burdens and then to realize how his spirit won China to turn towards the new day of his vision is to realize the possibilities of China when all its multitudes shall be moved to strive in a kindred spirit to complete and achieve his ideals. Sun Yat Sen is both a prophet and a promise of the new China!

THE CHINESE CHURCH STEPS FORWARD

For a number of years the Christian Church has faced its disturbed and sometimes hostile environment with uncertainty and puzzlement as to its place therein and service thereto. For the moment those actively hostile to it are comparatively quiescent. Yet the Church still faces many unsettled questions. Its relation to the problem of treaty privileges is no longer insistent: for all practical purposes these have passed away. The registration of schools and religious liberty are still live issues, though not at the moment biting hard into Christian concern. The responsibility of the Church for the improvement and upbuilding of rural life is, however, forging to the front in Christian thinking. Religious education, also, is being definitely attacked, though the way of making it most effective is still a matter of experimentation. Yet, looked at in the large, the Church is no longer dominated by doubt and uncertainty. Doubt as an aspect of the study attitude and uncertainty as to what solutions are workable it still has. Its emerging mood, however, is one of attack upon all its problems and a new determination to make its dynamic message more widely known. In other words the Church is achieving a rearticulation of its spirit which

is rooted in a deepening realization of its spiritual resources and responsibilities. The Christian spirit in China is passing from a state of flux to one of forward-looking affirmation! Of this renewal of spirit the "Five Years' Movement" is the outstanding proof! The Church is rising above its revolutionary setbacks: it is again taking hold of its own task. Its challenges are bigger and more complicated than ever before. But we may take courage! Its recent years of suffering have vitalized its faith and strengthened its spiritual muscles. The Church in China is in a reassertive mood!

STARTING THE FIVE YEARS' MOVEMENT

How might the Five Years' Advance Movement be started? How may it become the actualization of the new spiritual determination of the China Christian Movement? It is, in itself, evidence of a widespread urge towards Cooperative Christian Unity. This is not conceived in either ecclesiastical or doctrinal terms, both of which have tended to be divisive. It is the embodiment of a conviction that to move effectively in China Christians must move together! But where must this moving together begin? No central organization can by itself both outline and actualize an adequate program therefor. Though comparatively weak numerically yet geographically the China Christian Movement is widely distributed. Then, too, how may any particular group participating in this Movement, interpret it? Viewing the Christian Movement as a whole we note that all types of work, educational, philanthropic, social, industrial, and religious are actually being carried on. Should all these varied features of the demonstration of the Christian Evangel be temporarily scrapped in favor of five years of purely vocal witnessing and concentration on doubling the numerical strength of the Church? Such a general interpretation of the Five Years' Movement is quite unlikely! The Christian Message, as now actually being delivered, concerns *all* aspects of life. The Advance Movement will push forward this inclusive demonstration of the meaning of the Christian religion. This is evident in the decision of the Hangchow meeting that the varied committees of the N.C.C. are to be geared into it. Where and by whom, then, are the two questions of cooperative unity and the interpretation of this Advance Movement to be first settled? Where except in and by local groups, especially in those centers where numerous contingents of the Christian forces live and work side by side! This means that groups in the leading centers of Christian work should speedily get together and make up their mind and program as to how they will cooperate and on what as a group they will concentrate their united efforts. On such local articulations and interpretations must anything approaching a national program be built up. The first step,

then, in making the Five Years' Advance Movement work is for local centers to outline their part in it. No one can do it for them.

THE CHURCH AND POVERTY

Both within many sections of the Church and in all its environment the threat of poverty is pressing and urgent. By "poverty" we understand those conditions of life and livelihood that result from economic resources quite inadequate to maintain a healthy and vigorous family and individual life. This is China's greatest problem: it is almost the most difficult to solve. It affects the Church directly in that it complicates for many groups the question of self-help or self-support. The Church suffers with its community, also, from a lowering of vitality due to undernourished bodies. Furthermore the intensity of the struggle for subsistence engendered thereby tends to deflect attention from spiritual to secular interests. Various Christian organizations have already spent time and effort on schemes to help reduce this social menace. These, however, are usually isolated and disconnected: so far the Church has made no concerted attack on poverty. Of course it may be rightly said that if the Church becomes too much of a factor in improving economic conditions it will speed up the making of "rice-Christians." And yet if the Church generally ignores this problem it will also lead those to whom it appeals to charge it with indifference to human needs and failure to live up to its own altruistic principles. Thus in its own life and in that of its community the Church faces a dilemma. The only way out is that the Church must do its share in showing those it seeks to reach how to live well as well as live high. The Five Years' Movement raises, therefore, another question. How may the churches, particularly those in rural districts, help solve this problem of poverty? To help those around them to get bread need not make the Church the end of a "bread line" only: to ignore their need for bread, however, may mean that the Church will not be at the end of any kind of a line for many of them. What can particular churches do to help reduce the poverty choking themselves and their communities? If they think simply or mainly in terms of raising the economic productivity of their own members they will, of course, give a fillip to the "rice-Christian" urge. But if they think and plan in terms of community betterment in which they share they will thereby prove that their message and fellowship is out to better daily life as well as show the way out of this life's troubles into another one. Insofar as they can thus serve their communities they will enhance the meaning of their Gospel. They will thus preach through service. They will disprove the slings of their critics by proving the practical friendliness of their relationship to their communities. Each local group

might well, therefore, when facing its share in the Advance Movement seek to discover how it may include therein the fight against poverty. For poverty does not disappear automatically as the result of eager upholding of ideals of high living alone. Practical ways of eliminating it must be found and advanced. The Church can, it is true, play only a small part in this attack on poverty. But it ought to play that share vigorously! And it ought to do this not simply to make itself self-supporting or more prosperous but as a form of service to the life of its community.

WORSHIP AND TEACHING

Will the Chinese Church separate the teaching function of its pulpit from its worship? This is, at least, a discernable modern tendency. The pulpit has been used for the giving of many types of messages, social, ethical and religious. Some feel that it should be made the central factor in promoting a new type of religious education and in leading the Church to face and assume all her many and varied tasks. But not all those working in the Church, either Chinese or missionaries, feel this way. There are those who claim that the pulpit should never be used in connection with worship services to present other than spiritual messages. Others go further than this: they are beginning to think of the teaching function of the Church as separated entirely from its worship aspects. Where this idea is noted as being suggested by Chinese Christians it falls in with their indigenous religious experience and history wherein worship has had little, if any, connection with teaching. This idea of the separation of the worship life of the Church from its teaching and social activities fits in also with the present emphasis on developing a voluntary and lay leadership in the Church. Such a separation, indeed, seems to be a correlate of voluntary leadership as at present conceived. For it is often assumed that this voluntary leadership when secured would only rarely be able to lead in either teaching the churches or organizing their social activities. Where such voluntary leadership operated both teachers, religious or secular, and leaders in social effort would need to be supplied apart from the voluntary workers. It is assumed, however, that this voluntary leadership could be taught to lead in worship and the ordinary organization of church life. In this connection, therefore, this idea of eliminating the pulpit has a practical as well as a devotional significance. How far this tendency to set off worship by itself will become generally characteristic of the Chinese Church cannot be foretold. It may be that such a separation of worship from teaching and social activities will be one of the indigenous ways whereby the Chinese Church will solve its own problems.

MODERN SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "MISSIONARY"

The missionary is, or should be, a messenger of a "faith" that links the individual with God. In that regard his modern significance is the same as that of his primitive predecessors. He carries, however, a significance in modern days that his primitive forbears lacked. This is not always kept in mind. Primitive missionaries worked always and only under one government. Their passage from place to place, involved, therefore, no political significance and called for no treaty support. The modern missionary is under all kinds of governments and works as a political alien. This very fact embodies a special value. The missionary has become not only a herald of the kingdom of God but a demonstrator of a citizenship higher than any from which he comes or to which he goes. He is the symbol of an international political relationship as well as the herald of a universal religious relationship. Then, too, primitive missionaries were not troubled much with the conflict of varying cultures. The differing cultures of their day had, to some extent, already passed the point of open conflict. The modern missionary is a distributor and diluter of sharply differing cultures, even his modes of religious living are rooted in the cultures of the "sending" countries. As such he is significant of a search for a blended culture rooted in and influenced by his faith. He suggests, therefore, the need of discovering and setting up a world-culture. Primitive missionaries, furthermore, carried little money with them, relied on no boards and were troubled little, if at all, with any differences in the economic levels of "sending" and "receiving" countries. All these economic factors tremendously affect modern missionaries. They make them not only the sharers of a religious experience but the agents, also, of international Christian sharing and colleagues with the Chinese Christians in a search for a new and wider culture or civilization permeated by the spirit of Christ. In a real sense, therefore, the modern missionary means something different to those he serves than did his primitive models. He cannot be thought of only as one who induces a few to accept his message and then passes on elsewhere. Such considerations are basic to the question as to whether the missionary has a permanent place in China. His is no longer a temporary function. The building up of an international Christianity calls for the permanent interchange of all that its various contingents may possess. The missionary has become the medium of this permanent interchange of Christian fellowship and resources and a permanent essential of the modern demonstration that Christianity sets up enduring international relationships.

Some Chinese Records of Manichaeism in China

T. A. BISSON

THANKS largely to the polemic writings of St. Augustine and references by early Turkish writers, we have always had a reasonably complete and accurate knowledge of what the religion of Mani represented in the ancient Mediterranean world. We knew that Mani lived from approximately A. D. 216 to A. D. 276; that while still a young man at the Persian court he proclaimed himself the prophet of a new religion, grounded chiefly on the cosmogony and ethics of the Zoroastrian Avesta but with a pronounced admixture of Gnostic Christianity; that exile and missionary zeal impelled him to make long travels through Central Asia and perhaps through India and China; that when an old man he was martyred at the Persian capital—crucified and flayed so the legend comes down to us—and his followers subjected to a rigorous persecution hard upon his martyrdom. We knew too that Manichaeism firmly established itself first in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Central Asia, and that after 330 A. D. it spread rapidly through the Roman Empire. But until recently we have not been so fully aware that Manichaeism penetrated China at the close of the seventh century and there had a continuous history of at least a thousand years, developing its own Chinese traditions, undergoing prosperity and persecution, and even producing a group of Manichaean scriptural classics in Chinese. It is the study of this lesser-known Chinese Manichaeism that this paper is designed to further, by bringing together into more available English form the chief recent additions to our knowledge of the subject.

The new texts. The discoveries made at Turfan, Tun-huang, and elsewhere in Central Asia in the earlier years of the century comprised numerous Manichaean fragments, consisting of hymns, prayers, confessions, and religious treatises, dating approximately from the close of the first millenium A.D., and written in Middle Persian, Turkish, and Chinese.¹ The new middle Persian and Turkish texts throw a flood of fresh light upon the history and doctrine of Manichaeism in the Near East and in Central Asia during the first millenium. The new Chinese texts revealed the first detailed outlines of Manichaeism as a doctrine and as an institution on Chinese soil. By far the most important of these Chinese texts is an almost complete Manichaean treatise, now in the National Library at Peking, first published by Mr. Lo Chen-yu in China, later republished with French translation

1. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1923. Vol. 43 pp. 15-25. *Studies in Manichaeism*—by A. V. W. Jackson.

NOTE.—Readers of the RECORDER are reminded that the Editorial Board assumes no responsibility for the views expressed by the writers of articles published in these pages.

and notes by M. M. Chavannes and Pelliot.² In the same work, M. M. Chavannes and Pelliot have included text and translation of a Manichæan fragment discovered among the manuscripts brought to Paris from Tun-huang by M. Pelliot, as well as texts and translations of more than fifty other references to Manichæism culled from the whole range of Chinese history and literature. Since 1910 new Manichæan texts in Chinese and the languages of Central Asia have been continually turning up among the manuscripts unearthed from the Turkestan sands. Unfortunately, no text of the elusive Chinese Manichæan sacred books has been found among them; but from another source there lately appeared two significant texts exhibiting Chinese Manichæism as still alive and active in Fukien in the seventeenth century. In what follows I wish to consider briefly each of the major Chinese texts mentioned above and give, in addition, a short summary of the historical development of Manichæism in China.

*The sacred books of Chinese Manichæism.*³ The student of Chinese Manichæism is at the outset confronted by two provoking works: the *Er Tsung Ching* (二宗經) and the *San Chi Ching* (三際經). The very names of these two writings warrant them to be the genuine sacred books of Chinese Manichæism. They are continually referred to in the course of Chinese literature, so that it is possible to trace their appearances over a stretch of centuries. They were included in the Taoist Canon for some length of time. But even with the help afforded by the recent Central Asian discoveries we possess nothing but tantalizing glimpses of their actual contents.

The first known record of Manichæism in China states that the *Er Tsung Ching*, or Sacred Book of the Two Principles, reached the Chinese capital in 694 A.D. This record reads: "In the first year of the *yen-tsai* period (694 A.D.) . . . a man of the kingdom of Persia named Fu-to-tan came to render homage at court, bringing the false religion of the 'Sacred Book of the Two Principles.'"⁴ The *San Chi Ching*, or Sacred Book of the Three Times, also entered China during the T'ang Dynasty, for it is mentioned (strangely enough) in the list of Nestorian Christian writings that follows The Hymn of the Holy Trinity discovered by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang. Another record states that the works of Mani were incorporated into the Taoist Canon in the early years of the eleventh century, and in the following century the literary critic Hung Mai specifies that these works were the *Er Tsung Ching* and the *San Chi Ching*. Finally, a record of 1237-1240 reveals that the *Er Tsung Ching* was condemned in the Sung Code.

2. *Un Traité Manichéen*—par Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot.

3. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 157-169.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

As already intimated, Chinese records have up to the present disclosed practically nothing of the contents of these two scriptural classics of Chinese Manichaeism. The text of 1237-1240 in one place resumes the teaching of the Er Tsung Ching: it prohibits marriage, forbids taking remedies in case of sickness, and prescribes burial of the dead without clothes. This is little enough on one of these fundamental works. But the doctrines these two works point toward are basic to Manichaeism in its most diverse forms among various nations, so that in this instance we are justified in turning to a non-Chinese record for light on the meaning of the "two principles" and the "three times." The eighth section of the *Khuastuanift*, or *Manual of Confession* of the Manichaean auditors, an exceedingly valuable Manichaean text in Turkish yielded up by the sands of Turkestan, renders these two Manichaean fundamentals in a brief but intelligible fashion:—"When we came to know the true God and the pure Law, we learned the two roots and the Law of the three times. We learned that the luminous root was the seat of Heaven and that the dark root was the seat of hell. [The Two Principles.] We have learned what existed before there were either earths or heavens. [The Former Time.] We have learned how the gods and demons have struggled, how light and darkness have been mingled, and who has created the earths and the heavens. [The Present Time.] We have learned how the earths and the heavens of the powers of darkness (?)⁵ will be annihilated, how the light and the darkness will be separated, and what will then follow." [The Future Time].

*Manichaean, Taoist, and Buddhist interaction.*⁶ In certain doctrinal respects, Manichaeism was well fitted to insinuate itself naturally into Chinese religious thought. Its basic two-fold division of the universe into the principles of light and darkness had a familiar ring to Chinese ears accustomed to the dualistic cosmogony of the *yin* and the *yang*. The "three times" added to the "two principles" afforded the Manichaean faith a quinary basis also familiar to the philosophy of the Chinese. In fact, numbered categories of any nature always seem to have appealed to the Chinese mind. Thus it is not a surprise to find Manichaeism vigorously interacting with the older Chinese faiths so soon as it makes its appearance. It is of course impossible to trace in detail the constant interaction that went on within Manichaeism, Taoism, and Buddhism. It has already been noted that the sacred Manichaean classics were incorporated into the Taoist Canon, completed between the years A.D. 1015 and 1020, though they were quickly enough proscribed by the fundamental law of the Sung Dynasty and so thoroughly suppressed that no copies of them have since been found. But by this time their

5. A doubtful Turkish word, perhaps equal to the Greek "archontes."

6. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 140-156.

influence on both Buddhism and Taoism had been very marked. And in return Manichaeism was played upon by all the varied forces of the other two religions, but seemingly remained faithful to its root-principles even while assuming various external aspects of Taoism and Buddhism.

Certain important phases of this mutual interaction have been preserved in the Chinese records. Judging by these records, Taoism seems to have laid down much more peacefully with Manichaeism than did Buddhism. It was into the Taoist Canon not the Buddhist that the Manichaean scriptures found their way. It was the Buddhists who raged most fiercely against the "false" religion of Mani. So it is but natural to find that a very significant phase of Taoist-Manichaean interaction has been preserved in the spurious Taoist classic, the *Hua Hu Ching* (化胡經) This Sacred Book of the Conversion of the Hu relates the fabulous story of Lao-tzu's trip to the West, where he converted the Hu, that is, the people of Central Asia. Originally written in one chapter by a Taoist named Wang Fou at the beginning of the fourth century, by the seventh or eighth centuries it had developed into a book of ten or eleven chapters. A whole Taoist apocryphal literature grew up around the *Hua Hu Ching*. Celebrated artists found ample scope for their imagination in illustrating the mythical Western travels of Lao-tzu. The questionable authenticity of its purported historical narrative was calculated to stir up controversy, which raged between Taoists and Buddhists (in one of his avatars Lao-tzu was claimed to have become Sakyamuni Buddha) for nearly a millenium. Numerous edicts of proscription were issued against the classic, but it was not till the Mongol Dynasty at the end of the thirteenth century that the *Hua Hu Ching* was finally suppressed. At that time the work of suppression was so thoroughly prosecuted that all copies perished.

Early in this century when M. Pelliot brough back from Tun-huang texts of the first and tenth chapters of the *Hua Hu Ching* as it had existed during the T'ang Dynasty, search for traces of Manichaeism was immediately rewarded. The section about Mani in the concluding portion of the first chapter seems to date from the end of the eighth century, having been added at this period when Manichaeism's influence in China was at its height and when the *Hua Hu Ching* was being expanded. Lao-tzu is explaining to his auditors a series of his future avatars:—"Then, after more than four hundred and fifty years have passed, mounted upon a self-illuminated breath of Tao (道), I will fly from the region of Truth and Tranquillity to the jade kingdom of Hsi-na (the Western Paradise). I will descend into the kingdom of Su-lin (Syria) and be born in the royal palace, manifesting myself as the crown prince. I shall leave my family and take

up the religious life; I shall be called Mar Mani (末摩尼). I shall turn the wheel of the great Law. I shall explain the prohibitions and commandments of the holy books, the methods of attaining tranquillity, wisdom, and so on, even to the explanation of the doctrines of the three times and the two principles. I shall instruct gods and men, teaching them that the present time reaches to the region of Light above, and attains to the gloomy ways below. By this shall all living things be saved." The passage continues in more general terms announcing the final triumph of the teaching of Lao-tzu in his last avatar as Mani, which concludes the first chapter of the *Hua Hu Ching*. Our interest lies in the section already translated, proving as it does that Mani was presented to the Chinese people as a reincarnation of Lao-tzu!

One further illuminating record—this time Buddhist—of the mutual confusion into which Manichaeism, Taoism, and Buddhism fell has been preserved in the *Pien Wei Lu* (辯僞錄) of the Chinese *Tripitika*. The *Pien Wei Lu* deals with the eighty-one "transformations" Lao-tzu was popularly supposed to have undergone, and the passage in question dates from 1265 A.D.:—"The forty-second transformation says: Lao-tzu entered the Mo-chieh Kingdom (Magadha). He displayed strange miracles in order to convert its king. He established the religion of Fou-t'u (or Buddha). He was called Ch'ing Ching Fo (Pure Buddha); and he was surnamed Mo-mo-ni (Mar Mani).

*The Manichaean Treatise.*⁷ For the Manichaean Treatise itself, the most complete record of Chinese Manichaeism so far brought to light, Professor Herbert A. Giles has made such an admirable summary-analysis and partial translation that I subjoin it in full. In this treatise the distinctive Manichaean conceptions of the creation of the world and of man, the strife of the Good and Evil Principles, and the physical union of light and darkness with good and evil are all clearly discernible. Especially significant are its close similarities in wording and in form to a Chinese Buddhist *sûtra*. It is composed in rhythmical groups of four characters each, after the fashion of Buddhist *sûtras*. Many of its phrases are word for word the replica of Buddhist expressions. Professor Giles sets its conclusion side by side with the conclusion of the Diamond *Sûtra*, showing them to be practically interchangeable. Buddhism no less than Taoism had set its mark on Chinese Manichaeism. But this fact should not blind us to the striking fidelity with which the religion of Mani had clung to its distinctive doctrines amid an alien culture and civilization. It has adopted itself in form and phraseology, without compromising in essentials.

The date of the treatise is uncertain, though it cannot be later than A. D. 1035 when the Tun-huang manuscript chamber was walled up. It may possibly form one of the writings of the Addas who is

7. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 3-121.

mentioned in the *Acta Archelai* as a Manichæan missionary to the Far East, and who is represented as speaking to Manichæus in the opening section as follows:—⁸

"'Is the original nature of the carnal body,' asks Addas, 'single or double'? By 'double' the questioner seems to refer to the subdivision of the soul into light and dark. To this, Manichæus, here called the Envoy of Light, began his reply in the very words of Buddha in the Diamond Sûtra, the Chinese characters being the same in both cases, 'Good indeed! Good indeed!' In order to benefit the innumerable crowds of living beings, you have addressed to me this query, profound and mysterious. You thus show yourself a good friend to all those living beings of the world who have blindly gone astray, and I will now explain the matter to you in detail, so that the net of doubt in which you are ensnared may be broken for ever without recall. Know, then, that before this world was created, two Envoys of Light, namely the Holy Ghost and the Good Mother of Life, entered into the dark abyss of the sunless land, from which they returned victorious, clad in the cuirass of knowledge of the five divisions of bright bodies (the five elements), which they skilfully used to help themselves to get out of five the abysses. The five classes of demons clung to the five elements, as flies cling to honey, like birds caught by bird-lime, or like fishes which have swallowed the hook. Therefore, the Holy Ghost, the Envoy of Light, took the five classes of demons and the five elements, and combining the powers of these in due relation one to the other, made the ten heavens and eight earths of the universe. Thus, the universe is, for the five elements, a druggery where they may be cured, and for the demons, a prison where they may be kept under restraint.'

"Manichæus goes on to show that the five elements became, as it were, the prison in which the demons were confined—good and evil in a state of almost chemical union, wherein the traces of each component part are obliterated. The governors of the prison are the five sons of the Holy Ghost, who are expressed by such abstractions as cogitation, intelligence, reflection, thought, and apprehension. Satan then comes upon the scene; and 'when he saw these things he once more conceived in his poisonous heart a wicked scheme. He ordered two demons, a male and a female, to take upon themselves the likenesses of the Holy Ghost and of the Good Mother, and then to create by magic the body of a man, in imitation of the material universe. Thus, the carnal body, tainted with the poison of evil passions, although on a tiny scale, yet reproduced in itself every single feature of heaven and earth . . . Just as when a goldsmith copies the form of an elephant, drawing it inside a finger-ring, and neither adding to it nor taking away from

8. H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals*, Lecture V., pp. 190-195.

it, so was man made in the exact likeness of the universe.' Further, in revenge for the treatment of the demons by the Holy Ghost, Satan conceived another wicked and poisonous plan. He shut up the five bright natures in the carnal body, of which he fashioned a small universe, and so put an end to their independence of action. He also planted five trees of death, in order to disturb as much as possible the original human nature. 'Thus, the tree of dark cogitation springs up within the barrier of the bones; its fruit is resentment. The tree of dark intelligence springs up within the barrier of the muscles; its fruit is anger. The tree of dark reflection springs up within the barrier of the veins; its fruit is licentiousness. The tree of dark thought springs up within the barrier of the flesh; its fruit is rage. The tree of dark apprehension springs up within the barrier of the skin; its fruit is folly.'

"Again, we read that 'the Holy Ghost had constructed two bright ships to transport good men over the sea of life and death, back to their original home (with God), so that their brilliantly lighted natures should find peace and happiness at last. When Satan saw this, his mind was at once filled with anger and jealousy; and he proceeded to make two forms, one male and the other female, after the fashion of the two great bright ships which are the sun and moon, in order to introduce disturbance and confusion into the bright nature of man.' The two forms thus constructed by Satan became, as it were, two dark ships, in contrast to the bright ships of the Holy Ghost, and carried their freight of bright human nature into hell, where all sorts of torments were suffered, and from which it was difficult to obtain deliverance. Then, when there comes into the world some Envoy of Light, such as one of the predecessors of Manichaeus, who desires to instruct and reform mankind, in order to deliver them from suffering, he begins, we are told, 'by causing the sound of the beautiful Word to pass through the portal of the ear; after which he enters into the abodes of false religions, and, relying upon the virtue of spiritual invocation, chains up the crowd of venomous serpents and evil beasts, and no more allows them independence and freedom. Further, armed with the axe of wisdom, he cuts down the poisonous trees, tearing up their very roots, together with all kinds of foul vegetation.'"

*The Pelliot fragment.*⁹ After the Manichaean Treatise, the fragment brought to Paris by M. Pelliot from Tun-huang is the second most important Manichaean record in the Chinese language so far discovered. The translation is as follows:—

" deposit the corpses. If they are recovered and kept, it is the same as a violation of the rules.

9. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 129-140; see also Plate 1, p. 358.

"V. Rules concerning the buildings of the monastery.

Room for scriptures and images—one.

Room for fasting and preaching—one.

Room for worship and confession—one.

Room for teaching [religion]—one.

Room for sick monks—one.

In the five rooms set up as above, the assembly of monks lives in common zealously practising good works; [the monks] are not to build special individual rooms, kitchens, or storehouses. They fast every day. In perfect dignity they wait for alms;¹⁰ if no one bestows alms upon them, they go and beg to provide for their needs. They make use of the auditors alone, and maintain neither male nor female slaves, nor the six varieties of domestic animals,¹¹ nor other objects contrary to religion.

In each monastery there are three elected heads:—

First. The *A-Fu-Yin-Sa*, which translated means the head of hymns and vows; he occupies himself especially with matters of religion.

Second. The *Hu-Lu-Huan*, which translated means the head of the religious doctrine; he occupies himself especially with rewarding and exhorting.

Third. The *O-Huan-Chien-Sai-Po-Sai*, which translated means the overseer for the month; he occupies himself especially with the offerings and the alms.

All [the monks] must attend to the orders [of the three superiors].

VI Rules for entering the religious life.

First [it is necessary] to discriminate the two principles.

He who asks to enter the faith must know that the two principles of light and darkness have absolutely distinct natures; if he does not discern this, how can he practise [the doctrine]?

Next, [it is necessary] to understand the three times:—

1. The former time. 2. The present time. 3. The future time.

In the former time, there are yet no heavens or earths; there exists only light and darkness; the nature of the light is wisdom; the nature of the darkness is folly; in all their motion and in all their rest, there is no case in which these two principles do not oppose each other.

In the present time, darkness has invaded the light; it is given free power to chase [the light] away; the light comes and enters the darkness, and busies itself (?)¹² wholly in pushing out [the darkness].

10. Their food—brought to them by Manichæan "auditors," or disciples.

11. A purely Chinese category.

12. The meaning of this phrase (委實) is somewhat in doubt in this connection.

By the 'great misfortune'¹³ we have a loathing [which causes us to wish] to be separated from the body; in this 'fiery abode' (the body), the vow is made [by which] we seek to escape [from the body]. We wear out the body to save our [luminous] nature; the holy doctrine is firmly established. If the truth was fashioned from falsehood, who would dare listen to the orders [received]? It is needful to discern well, and seek the reasons that deliver.

In the future time, the things of instruction and conversion are finished; the true and the false have each returned to their own root; light has returned to the great light; darkness has returned to collected darkness. The two principles have each returned to their original state; both have given up [what they had from] the other.

Next we consider the four calm bodies of the Law.

The four bodies of the Law"

*The historical development of Manichaeism in China.*¹⁴ The Chinese record giving the date, 694 A.D., for the introduction of Manichaeism into China has already been quoted. The next record is in 719, when a Manichaean priest named Ta-mu-che, who was at the same time an astronomer, was sent by the Iranian king of Tokharestan to act as ambassador at the court of Hsianfu. The Iranian king recommended him highly to the emperor as a man of unusual talents, and requested the emperor to set up a church for him in which he might practise the worship prescribed by his faith. This Ta-mu-che seems to have established himself permanently at the court and made a number of converts, for thirteen years later in 732 an edict was issued strictly proscribing the "profoundly wicked faith" of Mo-mo-ni for falsely assuming the name of Buddhism and thus deceiving the people. At the same time, this edict permitted freedom of worship to those foreigners within China whose native religion was Manichaeism. The early edict bears witness to the consistent opposition the Manichaean faith encountered in China from court and emperor. From the very beginning, except for the period when China was too weak to withstand Uigur pressure, the authorities steadily set their faces against Manichaeism as a perverted religion. The edict also reveals that in the course of a single generation, doubtless through the influence of its unusually gifted missionary-ambassador, Manichaeism had made a strong impact on the Chinese mind.

The Manichaeans seem to have played an important role in the spread of the use of the planetary week among the Chinese in the eighth century. The Central Asian Sogdians, among whom Manichaeism was prevalent, were the intermediaries through whom knowledge of the

13. A literary allusion borrowed from the Tao Te Ching.

14. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 169-340.

planetary week gained entrance into China. That extraordinary character, Ta-mu-che, this time in his role of astronomer, may have had a share in leading China to adopt the seven-day week. Astronomy was in constant use by the Manichaeans for the calculation of their numerous fast days; and they also observed a weekly Sunday. An important Chinese record of 764 A.D. gives the names of the seven planets in order of the week-days, written in Sogdian, Persian, and Indian, as well as in Chinese. The author of this record draws attention to the "fast-day" (Sunday) in use among the Manichaeans which he denominates by the character *mi* (密 or 蜜). Now, calendars of the ninth and tenth centuries lately discovered at Tun-huang show Sunday specially marked in Sogdian as well as with this Chinese character *mi* in red; and this same character *mi* has come down on calendars used in China to-day, especially in Fukien—a memory and witness of the ancient importance of the Manichaean Sunday.

An event of unsurpassed importance for Manichaeism was the conversion of the Uigur ruler in 762 A.D. Details of this event have been preserved on the Karabalgasoun Inscription, the famous grave stone monument set up by the Uigur "qaghan" who ruled in Mongolia from 808 to 821. In the year 762 the glorious but ill-fated Emperor Ming Huang and his son Su Tsung had both died in the struggle to maintain the throne for the T'angs. Their Uigur mercenaries, who were fighting the rebels, entered Loyang November 20, 762, sacked the town, and stayed on there as its masters. Not till March of the following year did they set out on their return to Mongolia. During this prolonged stay in Loyang the Uigur ruler Teng-li-lo (759-780) entered into relations with some Manichaean monks whose teachings appealed to him. When he left the city he took four monks back with him to Mongolia, and there continued his study of Manichaean doctrine. Shortly thereafter he published an edict ordering the destruction of all images and enforcing the acceptance of Manichaeism in his Mongolian territory. The Manichaean patriarch at Babylon praised his virtue and sent him Manichaean monks and nuns, who went throughout the country preaching and teaching. By 765, so rapidly was the work accomplished, Uigur Mongolia was definitely Manichaean.

Up to this time Manichaeism had been barely tolerated in China, remaining there on sufferance more than by free right. But once implanted among the Uigurs it obtained the political support it had till then lacked. Continuous Uigur pressure on the Chinese government forced it to allow the construction of an ever increasing number of Manichaean monasteries in the succeeding years—at Hsian and Loyang in 768, at various cities in the Yangtze basin in 771. During the last quarter of the century the Uigur ruler himself saw to it that Uigur missionaries were sent to China to preach the Manichaean gospel.

Just at the turn of the century there is an interesting record. In 799 in the fourth month following a prolonged drought, the Manichaeans were ordered to pray for rain. To all intents and purposes, they were now on an equal footing with the other religions of China, at least so far as using their influence with the divine powers for the benefit of the empire was concerned. But the continued unwarranted Uigur interference on its behalf was brewing a storm for Chinese Manichaeism—a storm preceded by a lull of unexampled prosperity.

The first quarter of the ninth century witnessed the climax of Manichaeism in China, due significantly enough to the corresponding strength of the Uigurs and weakness of the Chinese. The Manichaeans took the more eager advantage of the hospitality of the Uigurs and the Chinese since at this period (785-809) they were being driven from Persia by the Abbasids. In 806 a number of Manichaean priests were included in an embassy sent by the Uigur ruler to Hsian. Soon after their reception at court, permission was granted for the establishment of further Manichaean monasteries throughout China (807). Certain records of this period reveal interesting details of the Manichaean missionary enterprise then being vigorously prosecuted in China. New personnel were being constantly poured in by the Uigurs. The lesser monks were replaced once a year by new Uigur recruits; the more important Uigur Manichaeans often stayed on for years in the monasteries of China. It should also be borne in mind that in this period Uigur and Chinese Manichaeism were in extensive touch with the Manichaean communities of Central Asia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. During these years it is very evident that Uigurs and Chinese treated on a basis of equality, with no question of rank or precedence. The Chinese emperor and the Uigur qaghan were mutually ceremonious, observing all the amenities of polite intercourse between equals. On one occasion the emperor "respectfully asks for news of the qaghan's health." In the year 813 the emperor refused a request of the Uigur qaghan for the hand of a Chinese princess, alleging that China did not have enough money to defray the expenses such a marriage would entail. The Uigur ruler having appeared on the frontier with an army, and diplomatic relations having been already severed, the Chinese court invited eight Manichaeans who were returning to Mongolia to a banquet, and entrusted them with the delicate message of refusal. In 821, however, a Chinese princess was awarded to the son of the qaghan who had first demanded this token of respect and friendship in 813. A magnificent Uigur embassy was sent to escort the princess to her new Mongolian abode. This dramatic spectacle marks and concludes the apogee of Manichaean power and influence in Eastern Asia.

But a few years pass, and Mongolia is plunged into devastating civil warfare. The poor Chinese princess becomes a pawn in the

political struggle, as various Uigur chieftains capture and recapture her person to validate their claim to the qaghan-ship. The years 840-843 mark the complete collapse of Uigur power under repeated blows from the Khirgiz hordes and the forces of China. The reaction on the position of Manichaeism in China was profound. The Manichaeism that had been grudgingly admitted in earlier days as the religion of a few foreigners had become wholly suspect due to the long-continued political support accorded it by the Uigurs. In 842 the Manichaeian monasteries of the Yangtze valley were closed, and their monks sent north. Only the Hsian monastery erected in 768 and those authorized in 807 were allowed to remain open. In 843 the Chinese army effectually defeated the acting Uigur qaghan, even to the recapturing of the unfortunate Chinese princess. Thereafter diplomacy ceased to figure in the treatment of Manichaeism by the Chinese court, which immediately proceeded to act on its true sentiments. In the same year (843) Manichaeism was proscribed throughout China, its sanctuaries closed, and its property confiscated. There were public holocausts of Manichaeian books and idols. Many of the monks were killed; the remainder were obliged to wear Chinese dress and reenter civil life. Chinese Manichaeism never recovered from this terrible blow, even though it endured for centuries thereafter. Manichaeism as a foreign relation with foreign clergy engaged in making Chinese proselytes was henceforth a thing of the past. The Manichaeism that persisted was transformed and made Chinese.

Even after its downfall, Uigur racial stock in West China and Central Asia kept Manichaeism alive in those regions for some centuries. In the tenth century there were Manichaeians at Kan-chou (in Kansu), in Turfan region, and at Khotan—that is, in all Chinese Turkestan. Few records of their activity have been preserved. The progress of Islam must have driven them little by little from the Western oases; in the Turfan region they had to struggle against Buddhism. But there were still traces of Manichaeism among the Uigurs in Chinese Turkestan as late as the thirteenth century.

Within China proper it seemed for a moment in 843 that Manichaeism had been stamped out. The issue proved that it had thrown out strong enough roots into Chinese soil to persist and live on. But suspicion led it to disguise itself, sometimes in Taoist sometimes in Buddhist externals. Enveloped in mystery, it tended to become a secret society, political as well as religious. In 920 secret Manichaeism grew sufficiently powerful to revolt and set up a certain Wu I as emperor, but the rebels were crushed. Manichaeism also became affected by Taoist magical practises—one instance is recorded in 970 where the Manichaeians were called in to expel a troublesome demon. The second commission on the constitution of the Taoist Canon finished its work in

1019, and included the Er Tsung Ching and the San Chi Ching—on the receipt of a fat bribe from some wealthy Chinese Manichaeans, so one record has it. At about the same time Manichaeism is listed in a Sung book among the ninety-five or ninety-six heretical sects. In the twelfth century Manichaeism is discussed at length by the writers Hung Mai (1123-1202) and Lu Liu (1125-1209) with much detailed information on its beliefs, practices, and persecutions during this period, when it was chiefly located in the lower Yangtze provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, and Kiangsi. Its area steadily contracted, and a record of 1240 specifies Manichaeism to be centered about Foochow in Fukien province. Here at Foochow the Manichaeans stubbornly fought for existence for the next five hundred years; a losing fight, it would seem, of which few records exist. Manichaeism should have met with favor from the Mongol Dynasty, which was greatly aided in achieving supreme power by the heretical sects persecuted under the Sung Dynasty. But there is no mention of it in the dynastic texts of the Mongols, perhaps because they also leaned for support on Buddhism which was never a friend of Manichaeism. In 1368 the Mings come to power; in 1370 there is at once a proscription which includes Manichaeism. This edict is confirmed in the Ming Code of 1397 and so included as a part of the fundamental law of the land. The same proscription against Manichaeism is found again in the Manchu Code. It had been thought that this was merely due to the verbatim copying of the Ming Code by the Manchus, but more recently two interesting records have appeared showing Manichaeism still active in Fukien in the seventeenth century.

*Manichaeian traditions in Fukien.*¹⁵ In the light of these newest records, it now becomes apparent that both under the Sung and the Mongols the Manichaeism of Fukien prospered from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Fukien Manichaeism had been important from an early date; it was men from Fukien that caused the insertion of the two Manichaeian scriptures into the Taoist Canon. It had always aroused opposition; Buddhists and Literati united in denouncing the pernicious activity of the foreign doctrine at Foochow. The translation below is made from the longer and more important of two records from books written by Ho Ch'iao-yüan, a well-known Fukienese author of the early seventeenth century:—

"The *Hua-piao* Mountain¹⁶ of the county of *Chin-kiang* prefecture of *Ch'üan-chou* is joined to the [mountains of the] Supernatural Source (*Ling-yüan*); its two peaks stand up like *hua-piao*.¹⁷ On the ridge slope back of the mountain is a rustic chapel dating from Mongol times. There sacrifices are offered to the Buddha Mani. The Buddha Mani

15. *T'oung Pao*, V. 22, 1923. *Les Traditions Manichéennes au Fou-Kien*, par Paul Pelliot. With French translation.

16. Near Foochow. 17. 華表; twin columns placed at entrance of tombs.

has for name 'Brilliant Buddha Mo-mo-ni'; he is a man from the land of Syria; and is also a Buddha, having the name 'Envoy of the Great Light, Complete in Knowledge.' It is said that more than five hundred years after Lao-tzu had entered the shifting sands of the West, in the *wu-tzu* year of the *chien-an* period of emperor Hsien of the Han (208 A.D.), he was transformed into a *nai-yün* (柰暈). The queen of the king Pao-ti ate and liked it, upon which she became pregnant. The time having come, the child came forth through her breast. The *nai-yün* is a pomegranate of the imperial gardens. This story is similar to that of the grasping of the pear-tree and the coming forth from the left side.¹⁸ His (Lao-tzu's avatar; Mani's) religion is called 'luminous'; for clothes he considered white best; in the morning, he worshipped the sun, in the evening the moon. He had a complete conception of the nature of 'dharma', and pushed to the limit the effort to clarify it. He said: 'That which approaches your nature is mine; that which approaches my nature, is yours.' In fine, he united in one [the doctrines of] Sakya and Lao-tzu. He propagated [his religion] in the countries of the Arabs, the Near East, Tokharestan, and Persia. In the year *ping-ssu* of the *t'ai-shih* period of emperor Wu of the Chin (A.D. 266) he died in Persia. He entrusted his doctrine to a chief *mu-che*. The *mu-che* in the reign of Kao-Tsung of T'ang (650-683) propagated his religion in the Middle Kingdom. Then, in the time of Wu Tse-t'ien (684-704) an eminent disciple of the *mu-che*, the *fu-to-tan* Mi-wu-mo-ssu came in turn to the court.¹⁹ The Buddhist monks were jealous of him and calumniated him, and there were mutual struggles and difficulties; but Tse-t'ien was pleased with his words and kept the envoy to explain his Scriptures to her. In the period *k'ai-yüan* (713-741) they made a Ta-yün-kuang-ming-ssu (Temple of the Light of the Great Clouds) in which they worshipped him (Mani?). He himself (the *fu-to-tan*?) used to say that in his country there had been in the beginning two sages, called Previous Thought (先意) and Jesus (夷數); as we in the Middle Kingdom speak of P'an Ku. The word *mo* (末) means large. Of their sacred books there are seven works. They have [also] the Hua Hu Ching, where is told the story of Lao-tzu entering the shifting sands of the West to be born in Syria. In the period *hui-ch'ang* (841-846) the monks were suppressed in great numbers, and the religion of the light was included in the suppression. There was the master of the Law, Hu-Lu, who came to Fu-t'ang (south of Foochow). He passed on his teaching to some companions of the Three Mountains (Foochow), and came to the commandery of Ch'üan in his travels; he died [there] and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of

18. Referring to Lao-tzu's miraculous birth; based on similar story of Buddha's birth when Maya grasped the *asoke tree*.

19. Ho Ch'iao-yüan's chronology seems to be confused here.

the commandery. In the period *chih-tao* (995-997) a literati of Huai-an, Li T'ing-yü, found an image of the Buddha (Mani) in a sooth-sayer's shop at the capital; it was sold to him for 50,000 pieces of money, and thus false images were circulated in Fukien. In the reign of Chen-Tsung (998-1022) a Fukien literati, Lin Shih-ch'ang, presented his classics (Manichaeian) for safe-keeping to the Foochow official college. When T'ai-tsu, of the imperial dynasty, pacified the empire he gave the three religions to the people as a guide. Again he was dissatisfied that [the Manichaeians] in the name of their religion usurped the dynastic title. He drove out their disciples and destroyed their temples. The president of the Board of Finance, Yu Hsin, and the president of the Board of Rites, Yang Lung, memorialized the throne to stop [this proscription]; and because of this the matter was set aside and dropped. At present those among the people who follow its (Manichaeian) practices use formulas of incantation called 'the master's prescription';²⁰ [but] they are not much in evidence. Behind the chapel are the Peak of Ten Thousand Stones, the Jade Spring, the Cloud-Ladder of a Hundred Steps, as well as accounts graven on the rocks [by visitors]."

According to this record of Ho Ch'iao-yüan, Mani was born in 208 and died in 266. Mani's dates are usually accepted as 216 and 274 or 276/77. Although Ho Ch'iao-yüan's dates are, therefore, not wholly accurate, when we reflect that before him no Chinese record breathes a word of the time at which Mani lived, a variance of a few years for dates, in any case none too certain, will not prevent our admiration of the relative faithfulness of the tradition which was yet being transmitted in Fukien in the first half of the seventeenth century. The chronology of Islam, a faith much more recent and much more alive, has undergone far worse alterations in China. Ho Ch'iao-yüan possessed information no one would have believed existent in his time. This offers hope that out of Fukien in the near future may come some valuable graven monuments of the former flourishing Manichaeian community at Foochow.

This study of Manichaeism in China may fittingly end with a quotation drawn from the concluding pages of the work of M. M. Chavannes and Pelliot which has been its basis throughout:—²¹

"Separated from the country of its origin, deprived of those foreign missionaries who had maintained in a single communion the faithful of China and those of Khorasan and Samarkand, Manichaeism even while reacting upon the neighboring religions was little by little impregnated with their conceptions and their formulas. But even while taking on in Fukien and Chekiang certain external aspects of Taoism

20. The meaning of this expression (師氏法) is somewhat doubtful.

21. *Un Traité Manichéen*, pp. 339-340.

and Buddhism, Chinese Manichaeism remains true to itself. To the latest period of its history, it knows the 'two principles' and the 'three times.' In the [17th] century, even later perhaps, from the top of the Three Mountains...praises still ascend to 'Mani, the Envoy of Light,' when long since the voices of his last followers have died away in the West."

Western Money and the Chinese Church

X. PRACTICAL IDEALISM

ONE difficulty with the problem of the spiritual vitality of the Chinese Church is, then, the tendency to decide that it is impossible for this to be realized apart from economic self-reliance, which means that Chinese Churches must rely only on funds earned by Chinese. A conflicting difficulty is that the continuance of western economic help is also deemed necessary and inevitable. We have thus, as a matter of fact, been talking about financial self-reliance as essential to spiritual vitality and at one and the same time declaring it indefinitely *unattainable*. Thus we are, on the one hand, constantly urging Chinese Christians to become spiritually vital and, on the other hand, telling them it cannot be done under this unavoidable situation! That is a thoroughly impractical idealism!

We need a practical idealism that will give an answer *now* to this question, How can the Chinese Church develop its spiritual vitality and continue to use western Christian money? I shall, therefore, end this series of articles on an intricate subject with reference to a few aspects of practical idealism which will amount, in the main, to a summary of what has been said and implied in previous ones.

We must begin by abandoning the superficial notion that economic self-reliance is *always* essential to spiritual vitality. Western and Chinese Christians are together caught in the whirlpool created by the impact of higher western economic standards and momentum upon the lower economic standards and strength of China. It is under these conditions that the spiritual vitality of the Chinese Church must be built up. Even if the missionaries were to lower their standards of living—which I do not advocate, though they might perhaps, in some cases, trim them as regards size and furnishing of residences—to fit those prevailing among those whom they serve and with whom they work, they would not thereby eliminate the economic conflict inherent in the impact of western upon Chinese life. After all is said, this problem, like that of western Christian economic help of the Chinese Church, is a relative one that varies with local conditions and national standards. Taken as a whole, there is no prospect that the mission-

aries' standards of living will be lowered to the present average standard of most of those whom they serve. The economic influence of the missionaries is bound, therefore, to remain in considerable measure. Since they cannot eliminate it they must, as I have shown, help to remove the conditions in China which create the conflict involved. They must set up *new ethics* for the sharing of western economic resources with the Chinese Church!

Christ was international in his outlook. Christianity must likewise be international. But Christianity cannot be truly international if western Christians do not share all they have with Oriental Christians, and vice versa. The logical outcome of insistence on the absolute economic self-reliance of the Chinese Church is the economic isolation of Chinese and western churches from each other. I confess I can neither envisage what that would mean nor its feasibility. It would create a situation so utterly different from anything that has ever existed in Christian relationships that the idea becomes almost fantastic! Why, then, any longer talk in terms that involve it?

Chinese and western Christians must find out how to develop spiritual vitality in the midst of the actual necessities created by the impact of differing economic levels. This is a *modern* problem: it calls for a modern solution. It is under these conditions that we *must seek* and *work for* the *immediate* vitalization of the spirit of the Chinese Church. Chinese Christians cannot render an *adequate* service to China without western money: western Christians cannot work with them if they withhold it. We must find out how to make a church vitality spiritual that cannot be, taken as a whole, economically self-reliant. This is the task! It calls for reverent research and an adventurous faith!

We have seen that there is little or no proof that the presence or absence of western money is the primary factor in the development of a vital Christian faith in China. New experiments are called for which will, on the one hand, definitely recognize that the sharing of western economic resources with the Chinese Church is necessary and, on the other hand, be based on the assumption that the spiritual vitality of the Church *is possible* under the conditions which actually exist. An economically dependent church is not necessarily weak spiritually; neither is an economically independent one necessarily strong. The money factor must be made subordinate to other more important considerations. Economic self-reliance, though important, is *not primary*!

Above all we must no longer weakly wait for the Chinese Church to become spiritually vital if and when these impossible economic considerations are met. We must find out *now* how Chinese and western Christians can use available Christian economic resources so that both will thereby become spiritually more vital, and, as a result, Christianity in China more effective.

There are what might be called *four laws* (all ethical!) for the future guidance of the use in Christian work in China of western economic resources and in connection with which the indispensable conditions of Chinese Christian spiritual vitality—autonomy, responsibility and comprehension—may be given adequate scope. They are not altogether new; but they need to be given a new emphasis and put in the *first place*.

First, there is the law of *sharing*. Western Christians are under obligation to share all they have wherever there is a need. Chinese Christians are under obligation to enter into this fellowship of sharing if and when they have a need or an opportunity that can be better met that way than any other. A common purpose means a common purse. Christians nowhere are under the obligation to do Christian work in ineffective ways simply to uphold the impractical ideal—that economic self-reliance is always essential to spiritual vitality. The practical ideal is that every Chinese Christian group should do its *full share* in supporting its work, which would and should sometimes mean economic self-reliance but would often involve a measure of dependence—or better, *interdependence*. To release the economic ability of any particular Christian group in China is one of the challenges of the hour. Chinese Christians, however, are not justified in doing their work poorly just because their poverty prevents them from doing it otherwise: neither are western Christians justified in letting such work suffer in order to be loyal to an impractical idealism. All Christians are obligated to share, either by giving or using what they own, because the economic strength of all is—or should be!—at the service of all. The world-wide Christian Church, like the individual Christian, is under obligation to use all its economic and spiritual strength to meet the economic needs of Christian service no matter where the needs may be located. For a long and indefinite time such needs will exist in China. This law of sharing calls, therefore, for the *internationalization* of all the sharing of the Christian Church.

Second, there is the law of *interdependence*. Neither Chinese nor western churches can fulfil their mission without the aid of the other. To make Christ known to men they must act interdependently. Such interdependence is the logical basis of Unity whether realized in an organic relationship or a free fellowship. In age, length of Christian experience and in economic strength western Christians differ from their Chinese comrades. That experience and strength can, however, be made to tell in China only through the aid of Chinese Christians. Chinese Christians need, also, to utilize this older experience and greater strength. Both are together dependent on the strength and guidance of God. Autonomy and trusteeship have their place. But both must be fitted into the law of interdependence! Neither can get along without the



MARKING IMAGES, LIN-YIN MONASTERY, HANGCHOW.

Photo: Robert F. Fitch.



Photo: Robert F. Fitch.

T'IENT-T'AO SHAN.

In the center above the waterfall is the famous "Stone Beam Bridge." According to tradition the eighteen Lohan entered into a bet with the Goddess of Mercy that they would build a pagoda before dawn and before she could build a bridge. The Lohan stole the bricks of the houses in the town of T'ien-t'ai and toiled with feverish haste. But just as they reached the topmost spire of the pagoda the Goddess of Mercy threw this arched rock over the stream. She then appeared on a hill top below as a cock and crowed over the Lohan, who dispersed defeated and disgusted.

other and all that both have. Neither must lord it over the other. They must cooperate with each other and God. That is the law of their interdependence.

Third, there is the law of *spiritual equality*. This arises inevitably in the other two laws. In the past, western Christians have over-emphasised the value of sharing their resources with the Chinese as necessary to their own spiritual vitality. Now they must place equal emphasis on the building up of the spiritual vitality of the Chinese and all other Christians. All must aim at an international Christian spiritual vitality!

What western Christians give of their experience and strength to the Chinese Church must be in ways that will build up its spiritual life. To find these ways is another challenge of the hour. They must share with the Chinese Church in ways that will insure *first of all* the spiritual vitality of that Church. The first step is to recognize Chinese Christians as spiritual equals. I repeat, that spiritual equality is not dependent either on economic strength or age of experience. It is dependent on a *shared experience* of fellowship and cooperation with God.

How, then, might the resources of western Christians be shared with Chinese Christians so that spiritual equality is recognized?

First, the direct responsibility of Chinese Christians to God must have *full play*. They *must* be set free from the cage of western control. In general, missionaries are ready to allow Chinese Christians to control their institutional and religious values. Why not let them have control of the lesser—the economic values—also? Second, all that is shared with them must be so shared as to help them help themselves. It must nurture their self-help. The necessity of this self-help need not be minimized because they share the help of others. *Self-help and other-help must both be made subject to Chinese Christian responsibility*. Every western Christian gift to China should be viewed in the light of this question: "Will it help the Chinese Church help itself?" Such a question is vital to a practical idealism!

Fourth, there is the law of *common trusteeship*. Trusteeship for the Great Commission did for a time of necessity rest on western Christians. That time has passed. The responsibility has not always been wisely met: it inevitably involved mistakes. Now, trusteeship for the resources of Christians everywhere rests upon the whole body of Christians, including the Chinese Church. That change calls for re-adjustment of attitude and method, particularly on the part of western Christians. The authority for the use of these resources no longer rests on any one section of the Christian Church. Christians everywhere face common tasks. For this a common trusteeship is essential. To recognize this common trusteeship is to apply the law of spiritual equality. A world-wide corporate sense of Christian trusteeship must take the

place of both the denominational and the national, which have dominated the use of Christian resources heretofore. To develop this is not easy. But it is another of the challenges of the hour that must be faced nevertheless.

These, then, are the four laws that must govern the future use of Christian resources in China. Can they be applied? I think so. Three conditions are in the last analysis indispensable, as we have seen, to the growth of spiritual vitality. In the midst of their interdependent relationship, Chinese Christians must have *autonomy*: with their autonomy must go self-responsibility: to this must be added comprehension of *their* task. These are the three aspects of a church's life that make it "indigenous" in the true sense of the word: for the real test of indigenous vitality is in these spiritual factors, not in economic strength or effort alone.

For all practical purposes, the Chinese Church now has autonomy in church and school. The transfer of responsibility is a fact, though it still faces the danger, in many cases, of being nominal rather than actual. This autonomy must include economic as well as institutional and ecclesiastical values. The Chinese Christian task, then, is to fit their autonomy into their interdependence. But who is ultimately to express this autonomy and exercise the control or self-direction involved? The answer to this question involves a fundamental aspect of the devolution now taking place. Already the first step in this devolution is apparent—the passing of control and direction of Christian work and institutions from missionary to Chinese Christian hands. In many cases, however, this control or direction is passing into the hands of organizations on which paid Christian workers have the main and sometimes the only say. That is, however, only the second step in devolution. There is a third step more important than either of these two. This autonomy and control must pass mainly into the hands of the Chinese Christian laity. The urgent necessity of this is becoming more evident every year. This third step presents more difficulties than the other two. It involves a long and arduous process of education. But the Chinese Church will not rise to its full capacity in self-help until the laity understand their opportunities and responsibilities in connection therewith and take their proper place as the main directing influence in releasing such economic resources as may be available. The development of the Chinese Christian laity to the point where its voice is *heard* in national Christian gatherings and in all church courts is another necessity of the present situation. This third step in devolution is intimately linked up with the problem of leading the Chinese Church to share its economic sinews in Christian effort.

Neither Chinese Christians nor missionaries as yet, see all the implications in the above-mentioned three essential conditions to spiritual

vitality. Two do, however, stand out. First, in order to determine how they want to use such resources as are available, the Chinese Christians must work out their own projects and programs: right here is where the laity comes in. To do this would give their initiative free scope. Such self-evolved projects and programs will satisfy the claims of both their autonomy and responsibility. When prepared, they may be presented to their western brethren for support or not, as they may be led. In other words, the Chinese Church should assume the responsibility of "*raising*" its own funds whether these come in whole or in part from China or the West. One can only hope that when they do thus "*raise*" their own funds, they will sometimes ask for less than has often been given: for some projects, however, they may ask for more. To learn how to "*raise*" funds so as to build up their spiritual vitality is a lesson they urgently need. To learn it will take time. But they *must* learn it!

Having assumed the responsibility for their programs, and the "*raising*" and use of the funds needed therefor, they should assume that also for saying who shall serve them as preacher or whatnot. Putting the missionary under the control of Chinese Christian bodies will not, it is true, eliminate all his economic significance but it will modify it by reducing his special privileges and merge his purse-power into that of the particular organization under which he works. Furthermore, this relationship, through and by which he will participate in any aspect of Christian work in which the Chinese Church needs him, will enable the missionary to develop that intimacy of understanding which is essential to fellowship and which is in turn the keynote to his future usefulness. All this will feed the self-reliance—spiritual, economic and program-making—of the Chinese Christians. By thus unifying the direction and responsibility for Christian work in China we shall eliminate the dual control, which has certainly inhibited the development of both autonomy and the sense of responsibility, and also redirect the influence of the still necessary dual support.

Such a centralization of responsibility in the Chinese Christians should also develop a proper sense of proprietorship. Of what, after all, do we want the Chinese Church to feel itself proprietor? Economic values only? Or a spiritual enterprise? It is possible for them to feel themselves proprietors of the Christian enterprise in their own country even if they raise some of its support elsewhere. Perhaps after all, in emphasizing self-control more than self-support the Chinese Christians have sensed the right thing to do even though they have not always analyzed the situation clearly. In any event, self-control and self-responsibility can go with the shared use of Chinese and western economic resources. In this way both Chinese and western Christians can satisfy their sense of trusteeship. All this means, of

course, that the Chinese Church must determine the *use* of western personnel and money in China. Only thus can they learn in the school of responsibility.

To find, then, how to work the four laws of the interdependent life four questions should be asked of every Chinese Church. (1) What do you feel *you* ought to do? (2) What can *you* put into it? (3) What do you want from western Christians to *help you* do it? (4) Whom do you want to serve *you*? These four questions, indeed, are the approach to the reconstruction of Christian interdependent effort in China.

Some want to know how much money and how many workers the Chinese Church wants. Who can tell now? A final answer to such questions must wait. One board announced to its constituency, "Of course the necessary expenditures in China will be lessened as the Christian Church of China becomes self-directed and self-supported." But will they? Who knows? Why should western churches, yearly growing richer, worry about that anyhow? The chief problem is not a quantitative one. What we want is to have these laws of spiritual interdependence applied and these questions answered in a way that will free the soul of the Chinese Church. They may want less or more money than formerly. Why worry? Let western Christians wait patiently while Chinese Christians commune with God about what they should do and what they need to do it.

Western churches must see the task of the Chinese Church through the eyes of Chinese Christians. The patience of God is needed by those who would thus see through the eyes of Chinese Christians their interdependent task. But just such a vicarious vision is necessary if we would work the laws of spiritual interdependence.

I have said that while in the past there were apparent a purpose or purposes to direct the economic cooperation of western churches with China, the great difficulty in the present situation is that it lacks a generally recognized guiding purpose. In bringing this brief treatment of the problem to a close it may be asked "Has such a purpose become apparent now?" I think it has. The four laws of spiritual and economic interdependence given above, the three values to be conserved thereby and the practical ways of applying these laws are all included in one general principle, that of developing the *spiritual autonomy* of the Chinese Church. It is for this value the Chinese Christians were seeking when they urged self-control as being the prime requisite and gave to economic self-reliance a subordinate place. To lay on Chinese Christians the responsibility for "raising" and disbursing funds for Christian work, whether they use money raised in China or abroad, is to begin to apply this principle. Strictly speaking during the last era of missionary effort Chinese Christians were not asked whether or not

they wanted western money. It came to them as the fruit of the generous urge of western Christians. Now they must be asked if they want it and how they will use it.

It is quite possible that many churches and groups will want to be entirely self-reliant and will want to fix their standards and activities accordingly. But it is also evident that many churches and most institutions in China will need financial help for a long time. Both tendencies can be fitted into the principle of spiritual autonomy. To understand its implications is, therefore, one immediate need of both the Chinese Church and its western colleagues: such understanding is the basis of that comprehension of their common task at present needed by both.

These four laws of spiritual relationship and these practical methods of working them, all of which head up in the purpose to realize the spiritual autonomy of the Chinese Church, cannot be worked without the application of the same adventurous spirit to economic relations and problems on the part of western Christians that Chinese Christians are constantly urged to show with regard to life and faith. Western Christians have, as a matter of fact, shown a far less adventurous attitude with regard to the use of their economic resources in China than in the case of either their lives or their faith. They have held on to the purse-strings much more tightly than onto their lives! They need to trust the Chinese Church and God—not themselves!—to discover how western economic resources can be so used in China as to build up spiritual autonomy and vitality.

Of course the Chinese Church will fall into errors of judgement. But why, I repeat, should western churches have a monopoly of this privilege? As God has trusted western Christians so he is now calling on them to trust the Chinese Christians. Trusteeship is not an easy lesson to learn. It is never learned, however, until one is *trusted*! The Chinese Church can *independently use* gift-funds! Western churches need to learn anew how to trust God and need also to learn the new lesson of trusting the Chinese Church. That is after all the crux of the whole problem! As we learn that lesson we shall make our idealism practical.

But how can the western Christian have confidence in the Chinese administrators of the economic resources he shares with China? That is a practical question. Heretofore this confidence has been centered in the boards and the missionaries. It was rooted in the personal knowledge the contributor had of the distributor. How may this confidence be retained if administrative economic responsibility is to pass from the board and the missionary to the Chinese Church and the Chinese Christian leader and laity? The only way to insure its continuance is by having the western sharer enter into as close or intimate an under-

standing of and acquaintance with the Chinese Church and Chinese Christians as he formerly had with his board or missionaries. This calls for two things. First, the direct education of western Christians in knowledge of the new conditions, already apparent in the Chinese Church, and of its new programs so fast as they develop. Second, the presentation to western Christians of the calls for economic help, as developed by that Church, by Chinese representatives of both the work to be helped and the people who bear the primary responsibility for the administration of the funds shared in its support. Only by such methods can western Christians set up that intimate acquaintance with the desires of the Chinese Church and the capacities of Chinese Christian leaders which must ever be the basis of their mutual confidence. Already some groups are moving in this direction. But the idea must needs be adopted as a general policy.

The four laws outlined with specific reference to economic relationships have, however, a deeper significance even than that. They are essentials to the building up of that wider fellowship in experience of God and cooperation with Him in service to men which provide the only soil in which further and more vital discoveries can be made in the Christian's special offering to the world—the meaning and spiritual worth of Christ. To share all they have, to share responsibility for its use in a common task with all other Christians is the only way the Christian Church everywhere can open the sluices through which may flow freely the spiritual forces which build up spiritual vitality anywhere and everywhere. Let us, therefore, talk less about self-payment and more about the *sharing of experience, tasks and economic strength*. Let us remember, too, that in order to maintain this international fellowship the Chinese Church will always need missionaries to some degree.

In conclusion I may refer again to the two major theses with which I started, doing so, however, in different words. So long as there is a difference in the height of the economic levels on which western and Chinese Christians live, the economic resources of the higher level must of necessity flow down to the lower one. This flow results from a law which is at one and the same time social and spiritual. This flow of economic resources is like an irrigation system. The source of the water in an irrigating system never determines its distribution. This those who use it must determine so as to prevent its waste, both by preventing it flowing where it can do no good or flowing so freely as to become a deluge. The major source of this economic irrigation of Christian effort in China is at present in the West: its distributor must be the Chinese Church. We need not worry about the time when China's economic level, having risen to the height of that in the West, will naturally check or divert the flowing of this stream of economic resources. In the meantime the flow must be so directed that it will

nurture the spiritual life of the Chinese Church. Its rate or volume of flow at any particular place must be decided by that Church. To find out, therefore, how the Chinese Church wishes this flow to be regulated is, I repeat, the task of the moment.

(This series of articles is to be published in pamphlet form).

Scientific Evangelism

NETTIE MABELLE SENGER

WHATEVER else missionaries have or have not done they have spread abroad in Chinese society teaching concerning Jesus of Nazareth; and whether this has been done scientifically or not they are, by their activities and teaching, stimulating the people to action; for this message must bring a response, either great or small. These stimuli are affecting the interest of the group. As yet, however, the mind of the group is not sufficiently enlisted to bring such a change in life that people will strive to rise to their highest and best life in Christ in spite of all obstacles and difficulties.

We do not seem to know how to direct the stimuli so that they will bring about behavior which will lead the group into a higher spiritual life. Perhaps we have not become fully enough a part of the group, and perhaps we do not enter into its environment sufficiently to understand why its present responses to the stimuli are such as they are; nor do we know how the stimuli might be altered or directed so as to bring about that high grade spiritual life which is both desired and desirable. We have supposed that laws and rules would help change habits and thinking when, indeed, they come into play only as a result of changed habits and thinking on the part of at least some of the group. Laws and rules have no use until considerable change has come to some of the group and its interests, as a whole, are also beginning to change. At this stage rules will help to establish a new order in the group and enable it on the basis of the new interests to work together in realizing them to the full.

Christianity, while it has stimulated the group enough to bring about a conflict of interests, has so far gone little further than the conflict stage. The present situation is a test of Christian leadership in China. Will Christian leaders be able to pull the people through the conflict and out into the ever-widening interests Christ offers? The present time is a test also of leadership as to its ability to solidify the group and get them to work together to realize these new interests. Will the leaders fail and the new interests disintegrate? Christian morals have not yet been sanctioned by the Chinese group and hence there is little pull to

live them and little disapproval from the group when church members fail to live up to them.

The leaders must get a threefold response to their stimuli before they will become effective and function in creating a new group behavior. The total consent to Christianity when secured must be an integration of emotion, reason, and activity. Somehow leaders must get the people's total personalities to respond and work together in the one cause where all are more or less interested and then they will bring about a new public opinion—a new line of thinking by the group which alone will alter customs, mores, and traditions, and enable it to take on the new standards as found in Christ. Their interests must be changed, for their beliefs are rooted in them. For them to say they believe and then not to act on their beliefs simply means that they are still interested in the old beliefs.

These interests are unsatisfied capacities and they will work to satisfy them until they are displaced by others. They must have a new vision before they become dissatisfied with either their past or present interests. Not until a new vision comes and a new goal is set before them clearly enough for them to follow it, will they give up the old and cling to the new. This is one of God's scientific laws of man's nature, as it is also of man's salvation. It is disastrous to dispel the old if nothing but a vacuum takes its place. There must be something ready to take the place of the old and be actively believed in and worked on, or the believers will be seven times worse off than they were before. The change comes from within and they slowly grow into a new line of thinking—into a new environment.

It is only when they have reached this stage that there will be any dynamic to their Christian life. Not until there is some dynamic in the new interests will an adjusting process begin, and the group response bring forth an organized church and the reconstruction of society on the Christ-basis. Any pressure from without, such as church discipline, rules for church organization, teaching *to know* rather than *to do*, pressing invitations to join the church, because they have been with the foreigner long enough so that they ought to know enough and hence should be baptized, baptism because catechisms are learned—all avail little; it is the pressure from within the heart and in the group that brings changes worthwhile and lasting and that are based on conviction.

People will move in groups rather than as isolated individuals as they merge into a Christian community and should, therefore, be dealt with in groups. The individual should not be urged to early baptism when it would mean isolation and persecution from his group, but we should rather work more slowly and seek to enlist the group so that even if all its members do not wish to change they will not make it intolerable to the ones who do and will respect them and their new interests and

life. We should train for membership in the group, and for development and enrichment of religious life by group activities.

To be a leader of this group we must know their interests and problems sympathetically, be accepted by the group, and be recognized by it as leader before we can know how to stimulate it, how to help it into new interests and transform the lives concerned in the light of Christ's standards. It thus becomes hard for the missionary to be the real leader because it is hard for him to identify himself with the group closely enough, in any given situation, to think as they think and feel as they feel; but though difficult it can be done.

The Church's function in China is to build a better country, a better society, a better family. Would-be leaders in this calling must know sympathetically the present society and family, and also know what they lack, and be able so to present Christian ideas that they will be taken up into their existing interests. We have worked too much on the outward, materialistic side, thinking that pressure from without would bring changes within. We have believed that the knowledge of Christ would automatically produce a Christ-like life: it is, however, more apt to sear the conscience and make people immune to real Christ-likeness: "it inoculates them against Christianity," as has been said. Christian teaching must be done through training in Christian living. If people are taught more slowly, or shall I say, differently, and live each new truth, grasping some of its content as it comes to them, then the new truth will stimulate new interests and the result will be a new behavior prompted from within which will be more or less stable. We cannot hurry growth. We have tried to and failed! We cannot buck against God's scientific laws in secular or spiritual growth any more than we can in any other realm. We only find ourselves kicking against the pricks, and end by hindering or killing the life altogether.

To do evangelistic work on this basis the leader, whether Chinese or foreign, must live *with* the people, *know all about them and love* them still. The leader must have patience like Jesus had. He was grieved to know that the disciples had been so long a time with him and still did not know him, yet he bore patiently with their doubt and unbelief. We must be patient and go slower even though there are boards at home who want statistics which show large results and many names on the church roll. Evangelistic work in this scientific age, to avail anything, must be as scientifically done as work in any other calling in life. It is infinitely harder than these other callings because it deals with the soul of man and its development, but not so hard but that in Christ evangelists can have every need supplied and have all the power and wisdom needed for the work which makes results possible. It is the highest calling and demands the highest training. The most valuable training, however, is not such as we get in schools where we acquire

degrees, but that won at the feet of the Master who learned from God and lived much with God. We must live like Him to be great evangelists. We must work like him to be successful evangelists.

All said above refers to interior work in villages only. If the statements are to be applied to any other fields of work they must be adapted thereto. I write with my own field in view and some others that I know personally. The statements made are, therefore, specific not general.

Religious Reconstruction in Shantung

J. J. HEEREN

AS elsewhere in China so in Shantung, the Nationalist Movement is busy relaying some of the foundation stones of the organized Christian Church. To put it in a word, the main result of the movement in Shantung is a church rapidly becoming indigenous with a minimum of destruction.

In the political sphere we are in the midst of seeing the Japanese turning over Tsinan, Tsingtao, the Kiao-Tsi Railway and the neutral zone to the Chinese. There has been many a hitch; there has been sniping and recriminations; there are many rumours and various fears; still it is something that has to be done. In Shantung, and probably all over China, we find ourselves in a somewhat analogous situation in religious matters. The great task is to turn over the work that foreigners have been administering and financing to the Chinese.

For years there had been talk of "turning things over to the Chinese," while foreigners and foreign money kept coming over in ever increasing numbers and amounts. As long as such a state of affairs existed making "the Church indigenous" was a matter of the future and not of the immediate present.

Although civil wars had raged for several years, it was not until the Nationalist Movement on its military side struck Shantung, that it made a decisive impact upon the province's religious life. When in the spring of 1927 the Nationalist armies swept northward, practically all the Protestant missionaries were evacuated; some leaving the field permanently, others going on furlough, while a third class spent some months of enforced absence from their stations in Tsingtao, Chefoo, Korea and Japan.

On the evacuation of the foreign missionaries emergency committees were set up, special administrators appointed or other improvised agencies established, which gave the Chinese, as it seemed to some, a God-given opportunity at last to assume real responsibility. It is now

generally agreed, I think, that on the whole the Chinese emerged from the test far better than was generally anticipated. At any rate, ever since that time things have been very different. Policies that were previously merely discussed had to be put suddenly into practice.

As a result of the Nationalist Movement and the evacuations (there was a second partial evacuation in 1928) great changes came about, the final repercussions of which one cannot yet clearly foresee. No doubt, the Roman Catholic Church rose to the occasion most quickly and brought about far-reaching adjustments. On August 1, 1928, the Pope, Pius XI, sent to the Chinese Church a special message, which says in part, "The Holy Father who has always followed and continues to follow, with lively interest the course of events in China and who was the first to treat China not only on the basis of perfect equality, but also with affection and a most genuine sympathy, consecrated with his own hands at St. Peter's in Rome the first Chinese bishops, rejoices and renders thanks to the Most High because of the conclusion of the civil war His Holiness expresses the hope that full recognition will be given to the legitimate aspirations and rights of a people who outnumber every other nation on the face of the earth; to a people of ancient culture who have had epochs of greatness and splendor; to a people who, if they persevere in the ways of justice and order, have before them a great future." The appointment by Rome of six Chinese bishops had a tremendous effect in allaying ill-feeling within the Chinese Catholic Church towards Catholic foreign missionaries. At one fell swoop six Chinese stood forth as the full equals of any of the foreign bishops. Here was irrefutable proof that Rome meant what she said about putting the Chinese on a basis of equality with the foreigners. Moreover, the Catholics have the great advantage of having in China an Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Constantini, who is thoroughly pro-Chinese and pro-Nationalist. Although none of the first bishops were assigned to Shantung, our province shared in the good-feeling aroused in Catholic circles by the appointment of these native ecclesiastics; moreover, Shantung will soon have a Chinese bishop in the Tungchang-Lintsing district, which is to be erected into an independent native diocese. Although the Catholics are having their share of the opposition and criticisms which emanate from non-Christian circles, they seem to suffer far less than the Protestants from hostility and criticisms within the fold.

Within the province, as compared with other Protestant missions, the Presbyterians are in the midst of making the greatest administrative changes, due largely to the fact that they have been slower than most other missions in making administrative adjustments. As the result of various "Revaluation Conferences" and other gatherings, there has been established "The Shantung Christian Provincial Council," composed of more than thirty members, the great majority of which will be

Chinese. The aim of the Council is declared to be, "To manifest the true spirit of sino-missionary cooperation by:

- (a) Mutual relationships in an attitude of rightness, equality and cordiality.
- (b) Recognizing the primacy, autonomy, and responsibility of the Church.
- (c) Cooperation of Church and mission in all forms of work.
- (d) Mutual sharing of administration, endeavor and responsibility."

The Joint Reorganization Conference last autumn passed three resolutions which reveal the general trend of things:

1. *Missionaries*. "The Executive Committee of the Local Council shall express to the Provincial Council for action, its opinion regarding the inviting of new missionaries, or the return of old missionaries to the field after furlough."
2. *Finance*. "All funds turned over by the Board (Mission Board in New York) should be placed under the control of the Provincial and Local Councils."
3. *Property*. "The Board (Mission Board in New York) should negotiate with a view to transferring all church buildings and chapels, on an equitable basis, to some properly constituted, title-holding body of the Church (Synod or General Assembly)."

This Provincial Council is to meet for the first time towards the end of June, and it is too early to be able to say how these various provisions will be carried out in detail. Moreover, there remains by the side of this Provincial Council the foreign mission organization with its executive committee and mission council, with the result that a *modus vivendi* between the two sets of administrative machinery has still to be worked out.

The Methodist and the American Board missions made somewhat similar adjustments some years ago with the result that these bodies have not made many radical changes within the last few years. In other missions emergency measures and organs of the evacuation periods have received *de facto* but not as yet official recognition. In the Salvation Army, organized more or less after military models, the adjustments are being made by letting Chinese officers take the places of many of the foreigners. In the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. the foreign secretaries are now in the full sense of the word *advisors*.

Alongside the question of administrative readjustment lies the "school problem", which resolves itself largely into the question of registration. Here all missions, in proportion as they are doing educational work, are on an equal footing, and all seem to have the same general attitude. In reality most of the foreign missionaries apparently prefer not to register their schools but in view of the outspoken and almost universal desire on the part of the Chinese Christians to have the schools

registered, the missionaries and the missions are giving, or are about to give, their consent. As elsewhere, so in Shantung, the heart of the problem is whether or not the missions shall agree to make compulsory chapel attendance and compulsory religious instruction optional. As yet there has been too little experience with optional chapel and optional religious courses, to warrant definite conclusions, although the experience of Shantung Christian University seems to indicate that the first reaction on the part of students will be in the direction of greatly reduced attendance with a gradual return to normality. So far as the writer knows no schools have finished registering with the Nationalist authorities, but many schools are busy getting ready to do so.

Involved in this school question lies the problem of religious freedom. Many missionaries, accepting as their norm the American and the British practice of letting private or church schools teach religion as they please, argue that unless China allows missionary institutions to compel its students to attend chapel and to take courses on religion, it will violate the principle of religious liberty. To their minds the student's religious liberty consists in the right of keeping away from schools that require such attendance; somewhat like the Treaty of Augsburg (1555) allowed a Lutheran in a Roman Catholic state the liberty of emigrating to a Lutheran state, if he did not like things in his native state. However, many missionaries are coming to think that religious liberty need not necessarily be defined in terms of American or British constitutional law, and that if China allows mission institutions to have regular chapel services and to offer courses in religion which students are free to attend, religious liberty is safe-guarded both for the students and the missions. Under such an arrangement the parents, instead of the school authorities, will have to apply the pressure if they want their children to enjoy the advantages of chapel attendance and religious instruction.

In the background of all these adjustments there are taking place subtle psychological changes in the minds both of the foreigners and the Chinese. These changes are related especially to administration and finance. Many of the foreign missionaries came to the field under the spell of a "call" or the vision of a "life work"; if a missionary were an Anglo-Saxon he was especially prone to come with the idea of becoming a "leader," which sometimes seemed to mean that the more he left his classes or his country preaching to attend conferences or to take part in the work of committees the more he proved himself to be a leader. At home the appeal for missionary recruits was often put on the basis of possible leadership; and it must be admitted that there was a time when such leaders were needed on the mission field. At any rate, the foreign missionary, as was long inevitable, really directed practically all mission work. Moreover, the man who was not of this type, who was

not put on mission committees or was not appointed to go to conferences, was often, if not usually, appraised as a missionary of doubtful success. In this attitude Shantung is witnessing great psychological changes; there is a growing readiness on the part of foreigners, if the writer may use a military illustration, to walk in the column as men of the rank and file rather than at its head because the foreign workers are coming to realize that the times demand a new type of missionary. On the other hand, the Chinese show an increasing readiness as well as eagerness to lead the column. Besides it is becoming more and more clear that the missionary, whom the Chinese will ask to return after his furlough, is the one who can and will *follow*. As already indicated the tests applied during the evacuation emergencies showed clearly that the Chinese were far more advanced in their ability to assume responsibility and leadership than had usually been assumed. The recent provincial conference of the Church of Christ in China, not to mention the independent churches in Tsinan and Tsingtao, gave similar evidence of the growing readiness of the Chinese to direct the work of the Church.

Closely related to the question of administration is the problem of finance. Few foreigners ever questioned that the Chinese should have full administrative control of everything they themselves financed; but "as long as the foreigners furnish the money, they should have control" used to be taken as axiomatic. Most of the missionaries in Shantung seem to be reaching the position that there must be a period of transition in which the Chinese are given a large share of responsibility in administering foreign funds. On the other hand, many of the Chinese leaders in Shantung are realizing that to be fully indigenous the Chinese Church should furnish the funds as well as the administrators. In Shantung, however, it will be a slow process to make the Christian Church entirely indigenous in this connection. In the first place, the economic level of the Shantungese, largely due to density of population, has never been high. Again, in Shantung, probably more than in almost any other province, the Christians have come from the poorer classes, especially from the peasant-farmer class. Finally, years of misgovernment and excessive taxation, not to mention famine and banditry, have so reduced the economic virility of the people that progress along the road of self-support must necessarily be slow. Of course, for decades it will be out of the question for the native church to finance as large and expensive an institution as Shantung Christian University. Nevertheless, the Chinese are beginning to realize how important and desirable it is to make the native Church free financially also.

Allied to this economic problem of the native Church is the new "Rural program" of Shantung Christian University. It is not the intention of the institution to teach agriculture and thus duplicate the work of Nanking University, but rather to give its own educational aim

a new direction. On the one hand, by means of study and research the University aims to make an exhaustive examination of the vital problems of the great mass of the people; and, on the other, to train doctors, preachers, teachers and nurses who have at least a sympathetic understanding of what the people in the country villages most need. Eventually and indirectly such an educational policy, if successfully carried out, should do much to help the Shantung Church to raise the standard of living of its members and thus make them more able to shoulder the Church's financial burdens. A beginning has already been made in the form of subsidizing a rural school, working out plans for sending students for practical instruction to a demonstration farm and several conferences with rural educational and religious leaders.

As compared with some other provinces Shantung seems to enjoy the good fortune of having these changes come less suddenly and with less destructive power. The Japanese intervention as well as the fact that Shantung was for some time the battleground between the North and the South have both had a moderating influence; have given both the political and the religious leaders an opportunity to get their bearings to a certain extent before undertaking the main work of reconstruction. This enables one to look into the future with confidence and to believe that the Church in Shantung will make a valuable contribution to the religious life of China.

Life and Work of the Church in Korea

W. A. NOBLE

THE enlarged meeting of the Korean National Christian Council, held in the Y. M. C. A. building, Seoul, Korea, on April 18-20, 1929, is usually known as the "Mott Conference," since Dr. J. R. Mott was the Master of Assemblies and it was mainly the lofty purpose and spiritual atmosphere inspired by his presence and words of counsel, that worked most to the success of the meeting. One hundred delegates, representing four Presbyterian and two Methodist denominations were present: two-thirds of these were nationals and one-third missionaries.

The process of the work of the Council naturally divides itself into three stages: first, the Executive Committee arranged four topics which were placed in the hands of four Committees for preliminary statements; second, this work when finished, was brought before enlarged Committees at the opening of the Council meetings, where reviews and changes were made; and, third, the work was finally presented to the Council for

discussion, revision and adoption. These topics were finally adopted under the following heads:

- I. Evangelism.
- II. Enlisting, Training and Holding the Leadership Needed in the Korean Church.
- III. Augmenting the Financial Resources of the Korean Church.
- IV. Unity in Spirit and Cooperative Work.

When topic "I." was placed in the hands of the Committee as a preliminary statement it read, "Points to be emphasized in the life and work of the Korean Church to-day," with main divisions as follows: Religious Education, The Rural Church, Young People and Evangelism; but, when it was finally adopted by the Council, these several items were all placed under the heading "Evangelism." Perhaps no better expression of the thought and spirit of the Council will be found than in quotations from the findings on this topic. Some of these were, briefly, as follows:

"In considering the question as to where emphasis should be laid in the life and work of the Korean Church to-day, Evangelism should be the all-inclusive thought. We believe that the whole life of the Christian may be brought under the control of God only when the spiritual life completely dominates all those other phases of life which are often called "secular."

"The fullness and richness of the Christian life should be manifest in the business and the vocation of the believer, until his life has come so fully under the control of the spirit of Christ that his every act will be in the spirit of worship."

Touching the question of Rural Work, a paragraph closes with these words: "We would urge that the farmer be so directed in the process of bettering his temporal life that he may feel when he plows a furrow in his field, or sows a handful of grain, that he is doing it all in the spirit of Divine Worship."

"Our theological Seminaries should so train their students that they will naturally concentrate their efforts in dealing with men on their normal relationships in life. Each student, on leaving the Seminary, while doing his part in pulpit work, should be led to expect that his main duties will be in fellowship with men in their daily toil, even to the point of actually participating therein. He should be taught to evaluate the character of the believer, not by the believer's church attendance and activities alone, but more especially by his victorious living in the home and while engaged in his vocation."

Under topic II, an appeal was made for an enlarged Korean leadership and for a better trained ministry. The whole Church was called upon to place the challenge of Christian service before the youth of

Christian communities. In the matter of training, it was urged that a more practical application of Christ's teaching be made, so that youth will be attracted to the ministry. The faculty standards in our Seminaries should be raised and the student entrance requirements also be advanced.

In referring to missionary personnel, it was said; that, "The number of missionary workers has decreased during the last three years from 490 to 455. This does not mean that the missionary is necessarily a disappearing quantity in Korea. Missionaries will be needed for some time to come, who will work side by side with their Korean brethren in the spirit of Christ. The missionaries that Korea wants and needs are men and women of spiritual experience and power who will serve as co-workers rather than as administrators; who can enter into an appreciation of Korea's past and present; who will concern themselves with Korea's material and intellectual needs as well as with her spiritual needs; who will fairly and faithfully represent Korea and her people to the Church in America; who will exalt Christ rather than a denomination; in a word, those who will strive to integrate their lives with the life of the Korean people.

Topic III, deals with, "Economic Responsibility; Self Support". "Cooperation in Institutions; Devolution" "Increase of Mission Funds;" and other "Practical Suggestions."

This review will not have space to dwell at length on these subjects. In the matter of self-support it was said; that, "To provide for regular times of public worship and to render the simpler forms of service required in the Christian community, involve expenditures which almost any group of Christians should meet alone." Of devolution it was said, that, "schools and colleges and other forms of institutional work may properly be established and for a considerable period maintained by funds from without the Korean Church, but other institutions of minor importance, whenever the special purposes for which they were organized have been served and wherever mutually desired, should be turned over by the missionaries to the Korean Churches." "There will always be a place for a number of institutions conducted by the missionary societies as concrete and useful forms of permanent service to the cause of Christ in Korea."

In the matter of the control of funds it was said that all funds placed at the disposal of the Korean Church bodies, whether supplied by Korean Christians or contributed from abroad, should be controlled by these bodies themselves: an increase in mission contributions was urged.

On the question of unity in spirit and cooperation in work, that was reviewed under topic IV, the Council deplored hindrances in the past from intolerance, an ultra-denominational spirit, unwillingness to

abide by the decision of the majority, factional jealousies and a too strong family and clan spirit. The Church was called upon to construct a program of high ideals in order to create among Christian people such a passion for unity that will result in willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to attain it.

It was recommended that there be created an administrative staff and a general secretary, so that the Council may be of greater service to Christian work in Korea.

Dr. Mott repeated a warning that he made three years ago, to the effect that the next fifteen or twenty years will be the most difficult years of Christian history in Korea, because the Koreans have learned that Jesus meant precisely what he said.

Dr. D. W. Lyon of Shanghai also made a splendid contribution in consultations and advice given during the preparation of the preliminary statements which were later brought before the meeting of the Council.

The following record of an open forum held in the midst of the work of the Council is of peculiar interest to all who are engaged in Christian work.

I. What causes you greatest anxiety, solicitude and burden from the standpoint of the Church in Korea?

1. Materialism.
2. Lack of opportunity for work.
3. Lack of strong workers.
4. Lack of adequate preparedness for the issues that confront us.
5. Economic bankruptcy.
6. Lack of the spirit of unity among Christians.
7. Decrease in the habit of *personal* preaching.
8. Lack of an adequate organ or provision for furthering co-operation and unity.
9. The conflict between new and old ideas; the standards and foundation of faith are in an unsettled state.
10. Growing weakness of Christian faith.
11. Lack of preaching of the pure Gospel message.
12. No proper training school for rural workers.
13. Weakness of educational interest in the Church.
14. Secularization of the Church.
15. Plenty of plans; but lack of trained men and of money to carry them out.
16. Lack of spiritual leaders.
17. Lack of prayer.
18. Lack of Christians who live according to the mind of Christ.
19. Christianity not yet rooted in Korean life.
20. Inadequate preparation to meet new interpretations of Scripture or creed.

21. Danger of substituting other gospels for the Gospel.
22. Discouragement resulting in pessimism.
23. Worry which destroys the Christian witness.
24. Compromise in the Church on moral and spiritual issues.
25. Danger of becoming panic-stricken in the midst of difficulties.
26. Fear of inability to keep our schools really Christian under present regulations.

II. What is the point of greatest encouragement in the situation in Korea from the standpoint of the Church?

The answers outlined below show the various aspects of the situation that the Church is striving to meet.

1. Plasticity of the time.
2. Changes in Korea's thought life.
3. Proved inadequacy of non-Christian religions which brings into clearer relief the adequacy of Christ.
- 3a. General dissatisfaction with present conditions.
4. Openness and accessibility to the presentation of the Gospel.
5. Developments in rural work.
6. Christian socialism.
7. Temperance movement based on actual needs of the people.
8. Growing sense of responsibility on the part of the young people.
9. Deep realization of the importance of enlisting the young people and the importance of understanding them.
10. Deeper study of Korean life.
11. Maintenance of spirituality in the midst of difficulties.
12. Growth of a new attitude towards women.
13. New thought and activity on the part of women.
14. Recent missionary activity of the Korean Church.
15. Present spiritual revival.
16. Desire of many for the Spirit of Jesus.
17. Growing demand among the young people for the application of Christian ethics to everyday life.
18. Steadfastness of the Church in great difficulty.
19. Greater desire for unity.
20. Emergence of a new group of trained, consecrated leaders.
21. Growing of deeper and more enlightened faith and stronger character in younger leaders.

Has the Missionary a Permanent Place in the Chinese Church?

FRANZ HUHN

THIS question arose some weeks ago when some Chinese and foreigners were discussing the Chinese Church. Time did not allow of a final answer to the question. Nevertheless it is a very interesting one, and amongst mission workers there may be some who would like to have it answered.

I do not feel able to give the final answer. Others may possibly give a different solution from mine and say, as is sometimes said: "The missionary has a permanent place in the Chinese Church." It is possible that, as a German, I have another angle of thought about it. In the "International Review of Missions", April, 1929, a writer refers to an article written by Professor D. Schlunk and says that Germans do not always think along the same lines as Anglicans. I should like to pass on my humble opinion without assuming to teach others; *audeator et altera pars*.

In trying to answer this question I shall deal first with what it means to be a missionary and second with the relations between the missionary and the Church.

What is the meaning of being a missionary? This question should be very easy to answer. Some people think there are far too many missionaries! Every one talks about them, but if one asks what kind of people they are, it is rather difficult to get an answer that fits. Some say missionaries are useful and others look on them as good for nothing and would like them to return to the place from which they came: the sooner the better. For this reason it may be well to consider the meaning of the word itself.

The word "mission" means to send away. Therefore "missionaries," in our language, means persons who have a divine call to spread good tidings amongst those people who have not heard it. It is in this sense that the Bible refers to missionaries.

Old Testament writers knew missionaries. Abraham, for instance, can be called a missionary. He received a call to leave his homeland and to go into a land unknown to him. When he arrived there he made known the name of Jehovah. Jonah, the prophet, also had a divine call and a definite message for the people of Nineveh. Israel as a whole had a call and a message to mankind. These, we know, they did not understand perfectly. Instead of seeking the glory of God they tried to build up their own glory, and instead of bringing other nations into contact with God Israel was jealous of them. Israel could not, therefore, serve as missionary to the nations.* Nevertheless God does not fail.

*See the story of the elder son: Luke, 15.

More than ten years ago I bought a small booklet written by Hugh W. White, having the title, "Jesus the Missionary." I read that small book with great interest. It showed me Jesus in a new light. I had been accustomed to look at Jesus as my own Saviour, as the Saviour of the world, the help of the helpless. To think about Him as a missionary seemed strange to me. It may be strange to others, too. But now, because I am a missionary myself I like to think of Jesus as a missionary. He was a missionary indeed! He was sent by His heavenly Father to proclaim good tidings to men. He himself said that he was sent by the Father. The gospels state that He knew this. It is one of the characteristic signs of a missionary.

The good tidings Jesus brought are written in the Gospel. In essence it is that the Kingdom of Heaven is near; that everyone who is tired of his selfishness and bankrupt as regards his own virtues may come back; that the Father is waiting for him and, under His care, everyone who trusts Him will have real happiness and everlasting joy.

Thus may we review Jesus the missionary. He is, indeed, more than a missionary. For He could say of himself: "I am the way, the truth and the life." Other missionaries cannot say that about themselves. But in so far as Jesus was sent with a divine message to men who had never heard it, we may look upon Him, as Hugh W. White does, as the Master Missionary!

Now the Master Missionary sends out other missionaries. We may, for instance, call the twelve Apostles, missionaries. The word "missionerius" means Apostle; he is a man sent with a certain message. But such are not exactly what we are accustomed to call missionaries. They did not discern that it was their task to go amongst men who had not before heard the good tidings about God. They preferred to stay amongst their own people; and even when God led them away from Jerusalem they perhaps mostly followed in the footsteps of their countrymen. About this we do not know much; though we do know that Peter needed special teaching to get him to go into the house of the centurion in Caesarea.

Jesus prepared himself the man who was the missionary *par excellence*. Even those who do not like to call Jesus the "Master Missionary" will not hesitate to call Paul the "model missionary," a term often used to designate him.

Paul was sent forth by Jesus with a definite message; Acts 26: 17-18. In the Epistle to the Romans he calls himself a "slave of Christ" and in another passage a "debtor to both Jews and Greeks." In the letter to the Corinthians he says: "Woe is me when I preach not the Gospel." That is because he knew himself to be sent by God to proclaim good tidings, that mankind might be justified by faith in God

and not by their own effort: for only through faith might they come into the right relation with God.

The first missionary age closed with the passing of the Apostles who had been sent forth directly by Jesus. But the Church did not forget the commandment of her Master as written in Matth. 28: 19-20. There have always been men, and nowadays women too, who knew themselves to be sent by the Lord with a definite message to those who had not heard the good tidings. They had no rest until they left their homeland to tell the good tidings about Jesus, who came to bring peace to mankind; for whoever follows Him shall have everlasting peace in this world of warfare. These all wanted to lead mankind back to God. A few of the names I wish to recall are: Columban, Bonifacius, Ansgar, Ziegenbalg, Elliot, Egede, Morrison, and Hudson Taylor. All these and many others were missionaries who knew themselves to be sent by God with a definite and good message.

These men have their successors in our days. These are living amongst us and are really missionaries. They know themselves to have a divine call and a definite message. They seek to lead mankind back to God and into the Kingdom of Heaven.

All this makes it clear now what kind of man a missionary is. What, then, is the relation between the missionary and the Church? The word church means a community which belongs to the Lord, wherein He reigns and dwells and which He uses as a tool.

This Church is the fruit of the work of Jesus and His fellow missionaries. This scripture and history prove. We reckon the beginning of the Church from that day of Pentecost on which the fullness of the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles and all the men and women who believed in Christ and the good tidings He brought. When Christ went to Heaven and the Holy Ghost came down then mankind came into contact with the *κύριος*. They gave Him room in their hearts and became instruments for bringing the message about God to their neighbours. This Church was the fruit of the mission work which Jesus himself did.

The same was true of the mission work of Paul and other missionaries. Paul, the "model missionary," considered his task to be completed when a church was established; he himself then went on to do the same work in another place. After studying the Acts this is the conclusion I came to. Paul and his fellow workers did not do much for churches already properly founded. When Paul had that vision in Troas in which he saw the man of Macedonia and heard his call for help, he did not hesitate a minute. He responded at once. He was eager to go and render help where it was wanted. But he did not stay long in that region. The believers in Christ Paul left to the care of Christ Himself. He left the church because he did not want to hold

any place in it. He went to the Greeks and the Romans and planned to go to Spain to spread the good tidings.

So wherever we look in the history of the Church we see that when a church was established the missionaries disappeared. The older churches had no missionaries to assist them: they did not need them indeed. That is because though a church is the fruit of mission work, yet as a church she does not rely on mission work in order to keep herself alive. The Church depends upon Jesus Himself.

Thus we see that these missionaries had no place in the Church. But what about the question: "Has the missionary a permanent place in the *Chinese Church*?"

The Chinese Church, so far as I can see, is like an infant. The child cries very loudly. No one can miss hearing it! But what is it crying for? Some say it is crying for money. This cry is, indeed, heard very often. The churches established by the Apostles did not have such a cry. The sign of the Church was not money but strength. Peter when going up to the temple with John could not but say: "I do not have silver or gold, but what I have I will give unto you! Stand up and walk!" This Church that was strong apart from money was a self-propagating one; every member was a missionary!

The same is true of those small communities started by Paul. They did not look for money from abroad; indeed they sent some to the old church of that day. Missionaries of our day, however, do not look for money from the Chinese Church. Although it is not their task they bring it with them *for* the Chinese Church. But what this church needs is not money. What she needs is fullness of strength from above.

There are men and women in the Chinese Church in possession of that strength. But the Chinese Church as a whole is not filled with it. The power which drives Christians to go and spread the good tidings is rather seldom in evidence. The Chinese Church is not yet self-propagating: the fire of self-propagation is not burning fully. It is not, therefore, yet time for us missionaries to leave the Chinese Church. Till this Church is working for Christ and has become an instrument in the hands of Christ to bring back to the Father those who are far from Him, till that time we missionaries are like those men called by Peter from the other boats to help drag in the catch of fishes. The missionary is always ready to render any help he can to the Chinese Church. But the day must come when the Chinese Church will depend on Jesus, not on missionaries. When the bride is brought to the bridegroom, then the friend of the bridegroom has done his part. The bride does not need him: he goes where he came from.

Every one in this country knows how bamboo is to be planted. A bamboo pole with a root is planted in the soil. When the new

bamboo comes out and is growing, then the old pole will be taken away because the new plant does not need it; it has done its part.

It is the same with the foreign missionary. He has still a place in the Chinese Church; but he has no permanent place therein. The day will come, and must come, when the Chinese Church will not need the foreign missionary any more. Unless this happens there will be something wrong in the Church. For this Chinese Church which does not need to provide the missionary a permanent place, we are praying and working.

“Future Work and Leadership of the Christian Movement in China”

VICTOR E. SWENSON

THE above was the subject of an address given by a Chinese Christian leader sometime ago. The churches in the city where he spoke were designated as “dying churches”: the itinerant missionary was “wasting his time.” The speaker felt that the churches are too subjective, busy with their own financial matters and that their social service work has been insufficient. He also said that the Church is not attracting young men and women into its ranks as leaders because the jobs offered are too soft; not enough of a kick and a challenge in them. “The young men want sacrifice, romance and adventure,” he said. A whole class from a certain seminary joined the left wing of the Kuomintang, receiving no pay for their labors, we were also told. The reason for their action being, not money, but that they thought their lives would count for more in the service of the Nationalist Party.

The speaker also said that the young preachers have lost faith in the message of personal salvation and do not dare preach their modernistic views. Consequently they have no message for the people. Formerly they preached against superstition, idol worship, foot-binding, opium smoking and gambling but now the government is taking up these matters and can combat these evils more effectively than the Church.

The speaker urged the Church to organize economic societies, such as cooperative banking, etc., that would better the conditions of the poor, who are so plentiful all over China. Another constructive method proposed for helping the poor church members was to gather them in colonies on the borders of Thibet and Kansu where land is cheap and a livelihood can be gotten much easier than in the congested cities. The above was the burden of the message we heard that Sunday morning about the “Future Work of the Christian Movement in China.

I wish to offer some friendly, constructive criticism, hoping, to be of some help to the young men who are seriously trying to solve the many difficult problems that confront the Christian Church in China. Being a Lutheran by conviction and training, I do not believe that Sunday morning is a time to give lectures. At that hour people the world over should be given a spiritual message, direct from the Word of God, that will call the sinner to repentance and feed the hungry with the Bread of Life. The Gospel should be preached in its infinite beauty and compelling attractiveness, so that the soul will be at rest in worship, adoration, and reverence, before our great God and Heavenly Father.

The reality, and awful curse of sin must be sounded forth until this great nation is convicted of its hideous sins. Here, it seems to me, is a challenge to the young manhood and womanhood of China. Anyone sincerely trying to call other mortals to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ will find plenty of romance and adventure in the work: sacrifice, also. The task is so great and stupendous, when one thinks of these multitudes, that were it not for the means of grace, the Word of God and the sacraments, one would be tempted to give up in despair. Knowing from personal experience that the Gospel of the grace of God in Christ is a divine means through which God calls, enlightens, and nourishes His flock, we dare not turn aside to minor issues, such as economic societies and the establishing of colonies. As by-products of our Christian Movement they may be good and well, but they should not be allowed to becloud the real issue, namely, leading souls into a living fellowship with God.

What of that class from a certain seminary which joined the left wing of the Kuomintang? If these young men had really been gripped by the heart of the Gospel, if they had had a personal experience of God's saving power in Christ, I do not believe they would have left the Church for nationalistic pursuits. There must have been something wrong with their training: most likely the real message and heart of the Gospel was not known to them. Here again one sees the necessity of presenting a positive evangelical message that will grip the innermost being of these red-blooded young men and endue them with the power of the Holy Spirit to witness to others. The pulse beats of a real Bible message are so weak in certain groups that the young people fail to see the great opportunity of bringing Christ to the Chinese people.

It seems to me that if the Christian Movement in China is to prosper the leaders must have definite convictions about what *God's will* is in the matter. The future work and its leaders must be in line with God's purpose or He will withdraw His blessing. His last command to the disciples was "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations"; Matt. 29; 19, 20. Because of this last commission and a deep longing and prayer to obey the same, the Church has to some extent been established

in this land. We are anxious to fulfill the Lord's command because we love Him. The Lord has given us a missionary message. It is His will that every person in China should have an opportunity to know the way of salvation.

By studying the New Testament we see how the apostles, in spite of much opposition and severe persecution, led thousands to become Christians. God prospered the Church and the Christians were ever ready to give a reason for the hope that was in them. This Church was blessed because it was a missionary church. The first generation of Christian leaders were deeply devoted to their Lord. They had definite convictions about God's purpose in sending Christ into the world. With enthusiasm and devotion they preached the Gospel, and if they had been asked to join some political party or work for the government they probably would have considered it an insult. They were permeated with a zeal and a passion for the unsaved. Their message was repent and believe and "ye shall have Life in His Name"; John 20; 31.

The churches in China were said to be dying, because the young people are leaving. Jesus said "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly"; John 10: 10. He poured out His life on the Cross, not only that mankind might enjoy eternal bliss and glory, but that even here on earth we might be filled with His fullness. So our message to the dying race about us is the glorious truth included in the wonderful promise, "whosoever will may come and drink of the water of life freely." I do not accept the statement that the churches are dying as true. It will be remembered that in the decade following the Boxer uprising more Christians were accepted into the churches than in the sixty years previous. The following is probably typical of the large city churches. A pastor serving one of these churches told me they have about forty cottage prayer meetings a month. Four halls are rented where evangelistic meetings are held and lantern slides shown several days of the week. Besides this there are some twenty outstations round about the city that are connected with the church. The school work for the young men and women and the hospital work can only be mentioned. Most likely when we have gone to our reward these churches will be continuing their blessed ministry to body, mind, and soul.

In Matt. 1:21 we read, "And thou shalt call his name Jesus for it is he that shall save his people from their sins." The reason Jesus came into the world was to save every person in every age from sin. He was born to be a world saviour. And yet we are told we have young preachers without a message to the people of this needy land! Probably one reason for this is that these young men have been taught that Jesus is primarily a social worker, a teacher, or an example. The important truth that he is the Saviour and has power to forgive and give victory over sin has not become a living experience. He is the

door into the Kingdom, and according to his own testimony, "none cometh to the Father but by me."

Two years ago it was our privilege, when taking our furlough, to travel by way of India and Europe to America. Our journey lasted seven months and we crossed fourteen countries. The difference in the countries and sections where Jesus was preached and accepted as a Saviour and where his Gospel was not known was very marked. A month was spent in India visiting our mission fields and churches. Some of the church-members were the third generation of Christians. What a striking contrast between these Christians and the poor degraded outcasts living the life of slaves as to body and soul. The Lutheran Indian pastors had strong features and were intelligent Christian gentlemen. Only three generations ago the forefathers of these pastors were in the same condition as the pitiable outcasts. Here we have a striking illustration of the truth that Jesus saves from sin and lifts men out of the depths of misery. Visiting Palestine and Egypt the traveller receives the impression that the people are living up to a higher standard than in India and China. In Italy the Roman Catholics are in the majority and although this religion is not the full Gospel the people are happier than where idolatry and superstition reign supreme. Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, England and America owe much of their progress and enlightenment to the Gospel of Christ. A journey of this kind confirms the truth and makes one all the more convinced that Jesus does "save his people from their sins."

The angels on the first Christmas morn sang so beautifully about the Saviour bringing "good tidings of great joy"; Luke 2:16. When one thinks of this great nation of China and its innumerable sad and lonely lives—what a challenge to the young Chinese Christian men and women to give them this message of joy and hope! The great masses believing in the unseen powers of "wind and water," with implicit confidence that these powers direct luck, health, childbirth, death, etc., with a dense pall of superstitious ignorance and idolatry on every hand, can it be that the young Chinese Christians see soft jobs only in the service of the Church? If this is the case they must have "eyes that see not and ears that hear not and hearts that do not understand." Was there ever a generation of young people in any age or any land that was confronted with such marvelous opportunities for service and sacrifice? Doors wide open wherever you turn for young men who are willing to carry these glad tidings of a Saviour to every creature. Golden opportunities for young women to set out on an adventure of love and sacrifice without limitations!

That a certain type of young Chinese Christians do not find enough "kick" and "sacrifice" in the service of the Church may be true. Some were not well-grounded in the faith and when the Communistic doctrines

were spread everywhere they were swept off their feet. Their minds and hearts were poisoned by this seeming panacea for all of China's ills. But such was not the case with many who have stood the storm and stress of the last two years. I know of Christians who were cursed, bound with ropes, beaten with clubs and guns, considered worse than refuse because they were true to their Lord. Some made the supreme sacrifice rather than deny their faith. Others went into government service for the sake of a livelihood. The government officials found the Christian young men and women honest and capable and as a result gave them responsible positions. Money from the West was not forthcoming because of disorganization and chaos. The daily bread must be gotten somewhere and it was only natural that many Christians should step into government positions.

It may be to some extent true that the young preachers of China are without a message. However, I know of a seminary that has been operating for about fifteen years. Its graduates number about one hundred. Looking over the records of these graduates last fall it was found that about ten of them were not in direct Gospel work. A few of these ten had completely left the Church while most of them were in business or professional work, but still loyal to their church. The other graduates have a positive Christian message and from conviction combat influences that would rob the Bible of its authority as the inspired Word of God. We humbly and prayerfully trust that the future of this church is by the grace of God under the leadership of these pastors and evangelists, in safe hands. Would that many might be enthused with the one saving purpose of sounding forth the Good News that a Saviour was born, that he lived, died on the cross, but rose again, to draw unto himself, to comfort and save all who come to him. A rich storehouse of faith, hope and love will be needed to accomplish the task but "with God all things are possible."

If the Christian Movement in China is going to prosper and grow it must have a sound biblical basis. Missions have been called a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles. What did the apostles preach and what methods did they use? In Acts 2 we have Peter's sermon recorded. He tells them that the prophecy of Joel is fulfilled in Christ: that Jesus whom ye crucified and buried has risen again and that the Holy Spirit has been poured out, according to the promise, on them that believe. The result was that they asked Peter, "What shall we do?" And Peter told them to repent and be baptized unto the remission of sins and "ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." In verse 41 we read that 3,000 souls were added to the Church. In Acts 4:4 we read of 5,000 men believing after having heard Peter's testimony. The leaders of that day took knowledge of Peter and John that they had been with Jesus. Then comes the story of Stephen and his bold

witness for the truth in word and in deed. Philip, according to Acts 8, goes down into the city of Samaria and preaches Christ to them. When the multitudes saw the signs he did and heard the testimony he gave "there was much joy in that city"; Acts 8:8. Certainly there is plenty of romance here! It seems to me the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs pales into insignificance in comparison.

Next comes the story of Paul's conversion, which is most remarkable. What did he do after this experience? Deliver some learned lectures, which he no doubt was able to do if he had wanted to? No! For we read in Acts 9:20, "And straightway in a synagogue he proclaimed Jesus, that He is the Son of God." We have then that marvelous record of the great apostle to the Gentiles. He was stoned, imprisoned, and in perils of so many kinds, yet through him thousands of people in scores of places were brought into a living fellowship with Christ. Churches were established and the good tidings spread far and wide.

My plea is that if the Christian Movement in China is going to prosper we must learn from the apostolic church. We must reach Christ in season and out of season and signs will follow and this great people will be convinced that the Gospel is a message from God. Paul knew that Christ was the power of God as we read in 1 Cor 1:18. "For the Word of the Cross is to them that perish foolishness but unto us who are saved it is the power of God." Granted a spiritually minded leadership, having the mind of Christ, we ought, by the grace of God, see a real religious awakening, when thousands and millions will be brought from darkness into light, from the power of Satan unto God. In spite of much opposition from the forces of evil, both within and without the Church, we have small groups of Christians scattered here and there all over this land. They need to be encouraged, comforted, nourished and shepherded. Many are longing for seasons of refreshing so that all who name the name of Christ might be imbued with the great purpose of lifting up Christ. With a dominating motive like this pulsating in the leadership of our Christian churches the future is bright and hopeful.

Missionary Mistakes

K. A. BAIRD

FOR about a quarter of a century the course of Protestant Missions in China was unchanged, and they developed along certain definite lines. Now they have been suddenly involved in the political upheaval, mission property has been destroyed, missionaries have been forced from their fields, and for the last year and more the only Christian work carried on in many places has been that done by the Chinese Christians. Sooner or later the anti-foreign movement will have subsided, and missionaries with their peculiarly constituted and consecrated persistence will again enter freely the interior of the country. Some of them will want to begin again the same types of work as they left. Others will doubtless want to continue in modified forms their former occupations. A few will realize that conditions have greatly changed, and will try to establish new forms of activity. Will Christians in the home countries be wise to support missions in China, hereafter, and what kind of missionary effort should they support? So many missionaries and so many mission boards seem slow to learn the obvious lessons of the past that the writer feels this article is not out of place in attempting to show its readers those things which appeared to him so plain during his term of missionary service in China. It is, or ought to be, easy to be wise after the event, and the writer is not assuming any superior degree of intelligence in presenting this viewpoint.

No person familiar with the facts will say that the missionaries have failed to accomplish a great deal in China in the last twenty-five years, but many will affirm that they have not done as much as they could have done with the staff and funds available. There is much criticism of their activities at the present time. What has been wrong with their efforts?

The way in which missionaries have lived have been criticized. This has usually been done in ignorance. Business men and others have seen the commercial activities of a small group of missionaries in certain parts of Peking, and assumed that all missionaries were engaged in getting rich. Or they have seen a nice bungalow at Peitaiho, or at a mountain resort, and, failing to realize that this represented the savings of years from the missionary's salary, have reasoned that missionaries who can afford such nice summer residences must be growing wealthy. Perhaps they have heard the criticism of a Chinese unfriendly to Christianity, and decided as a result that missionaries display too much luxury in their ways of living at the mission stations. Now the facts are that if missionaries lived like coolies, their health would be endangered and they could reach only the coolie classes. By living with a certain

amount of western comfort, they prolong their lives, are able to mix with the wealthier and more cultured classes of Chinese, and can reach the peasant and coolie classes just as well. Wealthy and intelligent Chinese know that the average missionary is not a man of wealth. Very few missionaries in the interior of the country have engaged in any work which was of any financial benefit to themselves. They were full time missionaries, and the man who questions their devotion is either ignorant of the facts, or wilfully misinterpreting them. It has not been for lack of consecration, or because of their living in western fashion, that the missionaries have failed to accomplish as much as they might have, or are not now in complete harmony with the Chinese Christians. A few isolated examples in Peking or other centres does not disprove this generalization.

The misdirection of efforts, rather than any lack of zeal in those efforts, has been the great mistake made by missionaries in the past in China. During his stay in China the writer found that the majority of the missionaries with whom he came in contact were engaged in one of the following activities for whole or part time; viz., carrying on secular education, running the Chinese Church and its finances, various committee work, and managing the new missionaries. A comparatively small minority were spending their time largely or wholly in preaching the gospel, healing the sick, or in making the non-Christian Chinese acquainted with the essentials of the Christian faith. The other activities, which were started, it is true, as means to the end of spreading the gospel, became in some way the ends.

Consider the first of those activities; secular education. The two arguments for providing Christian schools are that the children of Christian homes may grow up under Christian influences, and that non-Christian boys who live in the school may be converted. A third, springing out of the first, is the provision of an educated leadership for the Chinese Church. These theories are excellent, and one can scarcely blame the older missionaries for starting schools with such objects in mind. But one can blame them for not seeing that the time for secular education is largely over in missionary effort in China. In the first place the theories have not worked out. A few Christian leaders have arisen from the Christian schools, but others, just as good have come from other sources. Also, a good many young rascals have passed through the mission schools. Instead of appreciating the opportunities provided, many young Chinese have turned against the foreign missionaries because they were not further supported in soft jobs after school. A few students in mission schools have been converted, but so have students who were attending government schools. The schools have not justified the expense of time and money put upon them, and mission boards and givers to missionary purposes should

realize this and stop the flow of foreign money for educational purposes, thus solving the problem of the mission school in China. A second argument against continuing these schools is that the Chinese youth can get their education in government schools, many of which are better equipped and staffed than the mission schools. If the native Christians wish to segregate their children for purposes of developing them in the faith they can do so in hostels or residences, under the direction of Christian Chinese leaders, at their own expense. The missionaries hitherto engaged in teaching English or mathematics can henceforth spend their time to better advantage teaching the Bible to all whom they can reach, and doing other definitely evangelistic work. The money formerly spent in educational buildings and work would support adequately a larger evangelistic effort.

In the matter of running the Chinese Church the missionaries have been much at fault. Not only have they insisted in establishing western forms of church organization and government, but they have insisted on remaining in most cases an integral part of the organization. This has been justified on the ground that so large a part of the budget of the Chinese Church came from mission funds. But that was the greatest error of all. It looked, at the time, like a good thing to help the struggling little Chinese Church. But history does not show that subsidized churches develop spirituality, and the Chinese Church has undoubtedly been handicapped in things spiritual by too much money which it did not have to raise. And partly on account of this money, and partly on account of their fears that the Chinese would make mistakes, the missionaries have spent too much time in being missionaries to the Chinese. To quote the words of a Chinese Christian, Mr. K. L. Pao, as appearing in the *Shanghai Times*; "The Chinese Church is like a young man of twenty-one, who is demanding freedom and independence. Our western teachers, who love the Church so much, are like old Chinese mothers who insist on having a say in the future of their beloved children . . . In short, in my opinion, our western benefactors worry too much about the future well being of their spiritually begotten." Of course the Chinese Church is now running things pretty well to suit itself, but it is still depending on foreign sources for much of its financial support, which the missionaries are still able to send them from the port cities. What of the future? Is it not a wonderful opportunity for the missionaries to become again *missionaries* to non-Christians? Would it be unwise to adopt the plan Mr. Pao mentions when he writes; "The revolutionary course is to have the missions sell all the empty church buildings, withdraw immediately all financial support from existing so-called Chinese churches, and then go to other unoccupied areas and preach the pure Gospel of Jesus, but never again give a penny to newly-founded churches."

If the missionaries could be rid of the task of secular education and the management and financing of the Chinese church, there would not be so much need for committee work. Some other committee work might also be done away with without much loss. The writer and his wife used often to come from meetings at which missionaries had spent much time and energy, and ask each other the question, "What has this to do with the evangelization of the Chinese?" In all too many cases they could find no satisfactory answer. A final example of the type of thing meant is contained in the next paragraph.

Far too many older missionaries spent too much of their time in trying to train up the younger missionaries in the way they thought they should go. In short, they worried too much altogether about the future of their younger fellow workers. They tried to force them into certain ruts along which they themselves had come. Their whole attitude was that of task masters, rather than of helpful comrades. They were jealous of sharing responsibility with their younger co-workers. They, in many cases, expected their judgment to be accepted by the newer missionary as infallible, in spite of the fact that in so many cases the new missionary could see that they were very fallible. These things ought not to have been. They made life for the new missionary very hard, and took up much of the older missionary's time, when he should have been more usefully employed than in sitting in judgment upon his fellow servant of the Christ. In a good many cases young men and women had to leave the mission field because of the action of older missionaries.

What lessons can be learned from these mistakes of the past for the guidance of mission boards and agencies in the future? In what kind of work should missionaries engage, hereafter?

The Gospel still needs to be preached and explained to innumerable Chinese, many of whom are willing to listen and be convinced. Some of these know there is such a thing as the Gospel, but many millions do not even know why the foreigners are in their compounds. This task in its entirety is far bigger than the Chinese Church can handle in this generation. There is a need for missionaries to preach the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ in these unoccupied areas. Such converts as are made can be turned over to the Chinese Christian Church, as being the group with which they would naturally want to affiliate themselves.

There are numerous sick and suffering in China. The western churches through their doctors can scarcely hope to reach a very large percent of these, but they can illustrate the meaning of the Gospel in everyday life, through the work of Christian hospitals. It should not be necessary, as some missionaries seemed to think a few years ago, for the native church to take over these hospitals. But native Chris-

tians would naturally be prominent in their interest in, and support of, such charitable institutions.

As to educational work, it will doubtless be necessary to maintain theological colleges, and the native church is hardly able to finance such institutions as yet. More schools for the instruction of the church members in the essentials of their new faith might be useful, and might be helped by foreign funds, for a time at least. Until young Christians are able to get good training in medicine, if they wish to become doctors, the mission doctors will doubtless have to carry on medical schools, but we could well do without the spectacle of the past, when mission hospitals competed with each other financially for the graduates of their mission medical schools. Most of the high schools and universities might be or remain closed, without seriously affecting the evangelization of the non-Christians of China! In fact the rate of the spread of Christianity might be hastened if missionaries previously engaged in secular education were to spend their time in work among students in the government schools, and if the fear of the de-nationalizing effect of Christian schools, real or imagined, were removed from the minds of many Chinese.

The writer once heard a missionary stand in his place in the council meeting and state most emphatically that the business of the missionaries there was to found a Christian Church. Is that not just the trouble with things in the past? Is it not rather the business of missionaries to establish a Christian Faith, leaving it to their converts to organize themselves into a church according to the needs of their times and their country?

Our Book Table

LE TRIPLE DÉMISME DE SUEN WEN, TRADUIT, ANNOTE ET APPRECIÉ PAR PASCAL M. D'ELIA, S. J. *Imprimerie de Tousewei, CLIII + 527 pp. \$4.00.*

We have here an official statement from the Roman Catholic Church on its attitude to the 三民主義, and as such, the importance of this work cannot be over-estimated, even though the question is left open for final decision by the Pope.

The author is a member of the "bureau sinologique" of Siccawei; the book has the approval of his superiors of the Jesuit order and the Imprimatur of his Bishop, and is preceded by a letter from the Apostolic Delegate in China.

The contents of the book are:—

- (1) Preface by the author.
- (2) Short biography of Sun Yat Sen.
- (3) Explanation of the new term "Triple Démisme."
- (4) Detailed analysis of the 三民主義.
- (5) The author's opinion of the 三民主義.
- (6) Translation of the 三民主義 into French.

The Church of Rome, like every other organization in China, finds herself confronted by the fact of the 三民主義. It is impossible to ignore it, impossible even to keep silent concerning it, as countless members of the Church's children will be affected by its teaching. Should the book be approved as a whole, or condemned as a whole, or does it contain a mixture of good and evil? If so, the Church's duty is to separate the wheat from the chaff, to show what is good and what is "utopian, equivocal or wrong."

This is the task which the author has set himself, and he has solved it in a masterly way. First of all he gives a full translation of the text. Each lecture is preceded by a summary, each paragraph is numbered, and in the right and left margins references are given to standard Chinese editions of the work. Not only that, but the text is commented on in excellent footnotes, and a complete index makes the student's task easier still.

Then the unwieldy mass of the lectures is digested in an admirable analysis, giving the line of thought and the essential elements of Sun Yat Sen's teaching in a remarkably lucid and concise summing-up.

This done, the author reviews the theory of the book from the standpoint of the Roman Church, and this is his final judgment:

民族 deals with Chinese Patriotism. Sun Yat Sen is frequently unjust towards foreigners, but his ideas are not altogether wrong. The Church approves patriotism which keeps within the bounds of natural and divine law.

民權 does not present any difficulty from the Catholic viewpoint, as the Church accepts all forms of government. Sun's theories will no doubt be corrected on many points when put to the test of experience.

民生 raises a great many serious problems. Here the author displays all the dialectic skill for which his order is justly famous. The difficulty is this. Socialism and Communism have been condemned by the Church, Sun Yat Sen says that **民生**, Socialism and Communism are interchangeable terms: from which it would follow that **民生** is condemned *a priori*.

The author, however, proves from the text that Sun's Socialism is not the Socialism condemned by the Popes, that his Communism is a communism only in name. The theories condemned by Rome are: "Atheism, materialism, free love, man's natural goodness, absolute equality, the priority of the State over the individual and the family, etc.," and especially the theories which make it "illegitimate to hold or bequeath property."

None of these theories, says the author, are taught by **民生**. He quotes a number of propositions in the 三民主義 which agree with the Church's teaching and concludes that "the third *denism*, freed from the obscurity of the formulae and the perhaps intentional ambiguity of the term may, by means of certain corrections, be presented so as not to appear hostile to Catholic teaching."

It would seem that the author had been taken to task by some of his colleagues for a far too optimistic judgment of the book, because he says he submitted his work to some one who is an authority alike on theology and sociology, and this authority replies "To say that by an honourable but imprudent desire to render Sun Wen's teaching acceptable, you came to misconstrue (*fausser*) it by excessively benign interpretation, appears to me to be unjustified."

I leave this and the last sentence of the preceding paragraph as tortuous as they are in the original. The tormented sinuosities of the phrases show better than anything else how conscious were the writers that they were treading on very delicate ground.

The difficulty is underlined in the final conclusion. Apart from these objectionable features of the 民生 there remain "aspiration towards a better society, improvement of the economic life of workmen and peasants, the suppression of certain abuses of capitalism." But few teachers have the mental equipment to teach the 三民主義 without falling into any of the many errors contained in its pages.

The final word is spoken by the Apostolic Delegate Mgr. Constantini. He endorses the judgment of the author that there in much that is good—or at least not bad—in the 三民主義, that Sun Yat Sen's socialism is not Marxian Socialism, nor his Communism bolshevist communism, that he uses these words in a new sense, and that, moreover, Sun Yat Sen opened the door to comments and interpretations by his statement that he had neither the time nor the books for sufficiently careful preparation of his lectures. The 三民主義 must, therefore, be explained by Catholic teachers, well versed in doctrine and Christian sociology, who must refute the errors found in it.

Christian students should not be interfered with if they bow before Sun Yat Sen's portrait, this being not a superstitious custom, but a mere civil homage rendered to a man who is considered the Father of the Country.

Mgr. Constantini concludes by saying that in this letter he gives only his personal opinion, subject to final judgment by the Supreme Ecclesiastic authority.

Father d'Elia has the rare gift of presenting the most abstruse subject in a clear, concise and even entertaining way. He has given us in the "Triple Démisme" an excellent piece of work, an admirable instrument for those who know enough French to handle it, and last but not least, a model in typographic and other arrangement of the text.

U.B.

FOLKWAYS IN CHINA.. L. HODOUS. *Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russell Street, British Museum, London, W.C.1., 12/6.*

There are two streams of thought in China, that of the intelligentsia and that of the common people, usually largely illiterate. Members of the former class have often objected—sometimes vehemently!—to the naïve attitudes of the illiterate to natural and spiritual forces beyond their ken but within their experience, and their explanations thereof. Sometimes, of course, the intelligentsia, for all their vaunted philosophizing have participated in the naïve cults of the illiterate. Much literature aiming to make known these higher philosophizings has seen the light; not so much has been said about the naïve philosophizings of the masses. It is this latter that modern educational and scientific ideas will undermine with increasing rapidity. It is well, therefore, to have a volume which attempts to describe scientifically the unscientific ideas which underlie many Chinese festivals, gods and customs. This is precisely the task Dr. Hodous, for long a resident of China, set himself. Existing and forgotten customs, the God of War, Kuanyin and many others, are briefly but historically treated; some of them began as historical characters or events while others

are pure myths. It is interesting to note that not a few of these deities originated within the Christian era, which is late, as China's history runs. Perhaps the time will come when for China, the subjects treated in this book will have only an archaic interest. Most of them, however, still have a practical interest for multitudes of Chinese. To read this volume is to understand better the task of education in lifting the mass-mind up to a higher level of interpretation of its environment. Incidentally it throws light also on the problem of weaving the better elements in popular festivals into modern continuances and improvements thereof.

Current Reconstruction

NEW PRINCIPLE OF EVANGELISTIC WORK

The annual meeting of the North Fukien Division Council of the Church of Christ in China was a momentous event. Driven by the necessity of pruning somewhat the list of paid evangelistic workers, on account of insufficient funds, a means of accomplishing the same was found in the substitution of a *radically new principle* of carrying forward this work. Under a ruling of the Executive Committee of the Council all pastors and preachers became without appointment on January 1st of this year. Their further service of the churches depended on whether they were called by them. Any church was free to call whom they might choose, provided they could provide at least one-third of his salary. Two or more churches might unite in calling one man if they were near together. Thus the responsibility of determining personnel has largely been shifted from the central governing body to the local churches; with this is combined a strong urge toward self-support.

The churches are classified according to the measure of salary which they provide, being divided into those which fully support their pastor, those which provide two-thirds of his support, those which provide one-third of his support, and a further class which provides at least \$40 a year toward evangelism in its area.

The central Executive Committee has power, in so far as it has funds for the purpose, to appoint traveling evangelists, or special evangelistic workers over certain areas, who do not derive their authority from the local churches, and it is proposed, so far as possible, to use foreign funds for such special kinds of work, or for advance work of any kind. The field covered by the Council is divided into three Associations which in many matters have power to decide their local problems, and each Association has an Evangelistic Superintendent who is expected to spend most of his time in the field, aiding in local situations or otherwise directing the evangelistic work in his field.

These three Superintendents, together with the two general secretaries of the Council, have in charge the execution of the resolutions of the Council. An important part of their work is to provide some form of normal training for voluntary lay evangelists, or local church leaders, having especially in mind the provision for the many groups of Christians who are not strong enough to call a paid leader. It becomes the business of these

superintendents and secretaries to instruct and train a body of unpaid church leaders. In the background of their work is the more general problem of rural evangelism with which our field is specially concerned.

At a distance of five months from the initiation of this new type of approach to our evangelistic problem we are surprised at the manner in which the less fruitful men on the salary list have been automatically dropped without serious disruption of good feeling. It is of course too early to appraise the general effect of the plan upon our total work but it would appear that there is general satisfaction among the Chinese as to its underlying principles. A further fact has been forced into the open and that is that there exists a very limited body of lay leaders, in many groups none at all, with promise. It would appear that this is due in some measure to the long dependence upon the Executive Committee to assume all the responsibilities of leadership for the churches. It will require time to develop this type of leaders.

The Council assumes full control of all forms of work formerly belonging to the mission, evangelistic, educational, medical and agricultural. An educational secretary has been chosen and provision made for the election of educational boards of directors for all institutions. There is also a woman's evangelistic secretary who cooperates with the other secretaries in evangelistic work. While assuming control of the medical and agricultural work there is no attempt to dictate the administration of those departments.

Except for opposition to church schools in Shaowu city, Fukien, there is comparatively little opposition to any form of church work in the field. Schools at Yangkow and Kienning especially are full and flourishing. Many rural churches are almost untouched by the anti-Christian movement; in other places the opposition is more marked. Religious indifferentism is fairly general and yet the situation is by no means lacking in hopeful features.

EDWIN D. KELLOGG.

Work and Workers

Canon Streeter in China.—Canon Streeter arrives in Shanghai on July 19. He will preach in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Shanghai, on Sunday, July 21. He is to spend considerable of his time in China on Kuling. From August 6-15 he attends a Christian Leaders' Retreat there and from August 16-18 a Literature Conference. He is due to leave China on December 21. Those who desire to communicate with him may do so care of Mr. Y. T. Wu, National Committee of the Y.M.C.A., 20 Museum Road, Shanghai.

Missionaries and Bandits.—On the seventh of June word was received by the C.I.M. headquarters in Shanghai that robbers had taken Shekichen, Honan. Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Weller, Mr. and Mrs. John Walker and child, and Miss J. P. Brook of this mission were detained for the purpose of bargaining. They were, however, well treated. On the sixteenth of June word was received that all except Mr. Weller had been escorted safely to Fangcheng. Mr. Weller's release was expected a day or two later.

Misuse of Name of Presbyterian Mission Press.—Recently it came to the attention of the Presbyterian Mission Press that its name was being used by propagandists, printed on the wrappers of rolls of subversive printed matter, in order that the contents might escape confiscation in the post office. The Mission Press has no connection with said contents, which were widely mailed, being heard of from the Philippines, Java, Japan and elsewhere. Previously the names of other large firms in Shanghai have been used in like manner.

Boone Librarian Chosen to be Representative at International Library Conference.—Mr. Samuel T. Y. Seng, the Librarian of the Boone Library, Wuchang, was chosen the Delegate from China to attend the First International Library Conference, which was held in Rome and Venice, Italy, from June 15th to June 30th. Librarians from all over the world were present. During this period visits were made to the great Libraries of Rome, especially the Vatican Library with its priceless treasures. In Rome also there was an international exhibition. In this the Metropolitan Library, Peking and the Library Association of China took part. The Boone Library, which opened in 1910, and the Boone Library School established in 1920, sent an exhibition of the work accomplished during these years.

Progress in Y.M.C.A.—Successful financial and membership campaigns in several cities show how the Association is regaining its hold on the communities respectively concerned. At Foochow 1,500 members were sought, 1,876 secured; \$21,400 sought and \$25,324 secured. Thus were secured the

largest returns of any campaign during the twenty-four years of its history. At Wuhu, also, the best results ever attained were registered. This Association now enrolls 820 men and boys: it secured \$2,635 in cash. In Peiping 775 members were won and \$10,275 secured. Merchants, educational leaders and members of the boys' department did the work. At Hangchow also the \$8,000 sought was overtopped somewhat. One encouraging fact in these campaigns in different parts of China is that the Associations have been able to enlist the cooperation of almost everybody whose help was desired.

Endowment Funds and Self-Support.—At the Fifteenth Synod of the Diocese of Anking there was considerable interest in church endowments. A number of places are planning to raise them. The discussion on self-support centered in the proposal of a committee that each parish start such an endowment fund. This fund would, it was hoped, yield, at the end of twenty-five years, one-third of the parish expenses. The plan was approved in principle but was referred back to the committee with instructions that in addition thereto provision should also be made for the gradual increase in local contributions for both local and diocesan expenses. Considerable attention was paid by this meeting to the problem of volunteer workers also. It is hoped by means of such to relieve the paid clergy to start mission work in new places. At present there are far too many paid workers, in proportion to the number of Christians, to make self-support even remotely possible.

Y.W.C.A. in Rural China.—Contact has been made with the women in the villages around Fu Shan

Hsien, ten miles west of Chefoo, Shantung through the teaching of the "One Thousand Characters." Local arrangements were made by a committee of eleven men representing eight villages. They secured the meeting places, arranged for the necessary furniture, registered the students and provided a place for the teacher who was provided when fifteen pupils had been secured. This work is supervised by Miss Ho Yuen Kun, who has had special training in normal work and religious education. 120 received diplomas after the first course. Some of these graduates then taught other villagers in addition to taking up somewhat advanced work themselves. Some attempt is being made, also, to solve the economic problems of the villages; some co-operative societies are being organized. An extension worker from Nanking University spent two weeks in these villages with a view to giving small groups of farmers ideas as to improving their farms. A foundation for the first Rural Y.W.C.A. is also being laid in girls' and mothers' clubs and fellowship groups. Two other such rural centers are to be opened in 1929. Requests for similar centers have come also from other places.

Talmage College in Difficulties.

—In our June issue, page 403, we reported certain difficulties encountered by Talmage College, Changchow, Fukien, on account of government interference with a view to the appointment of a teacher of the San Min Chu I. Other difficulties have since arisen with the result that the college has been forced to close. It appears that the tennis and football events of a community athletic meet were carried over to Sunday. The college students were told to attend church as usual. Some of them, however,

disobeyed and were duly punished. As a result the student body struck. Outside agitators called a mass meeting in support of the strikers. This meeting demanded that the college should be taken over by the authorities. The magistrate reported this action to Foochow from whence came an order to close Talmage College temporarily and that for three reasons:— (1) failure to register; (2) failure to accept the man appointed to teach the San Min Chu I; (3) use of coercion in religious observance and discouragement of obedience to the government. Previous to this, however, the college had started a three-weeks' vacation in order to break the strike. Against this order for temporary closing the college duly protested. After the vacation the students also appealed to the Commissioners, who had come from Foochow, to reopen the school. Permission to reopen was not, however, granted.

Life of Women in South China.

—Six centers in Kwangtung and the villages about them were chosen for the study of the life of the women therein by the Y. W. C. A. A special survey was made with regard to economic conditions. Generally speaking rural women on the delta south of Canton have economic independence while in the villages east and north of this city there is a lower economic standard and consequently the women therein have less economic freedom. The absence of the men, either in the cities or in foreign countries, lays upon the women the burden of managing their households. In most cases the opportunities for the education of women are utterly inadequate. The district of Toi shan is, however, an exception in this regard. There nearly every village has its own clan school for

girls and young married women sometimes study. There are two independent church schools in the market town of Toi Shan, each with a normal course, and an excellent government school for women. About two-thirds of the students in all these Toi Shan schools come in every day from the villages and about one-third of those in the normal courses are young married women whose husbands are away from home. In the other five centers there are very few schools for girls and none giving opportunity of education to adult women. There is, however, in most of the rural centers an increasing number of young women who have attended church schools in various cities. But the great mass of women in Kwangtung are deprived of education. In this province, in the area occupied by the Christian Church, only 25% of the men and 3% of the women are literate; within the church membership these figures are 37% men and 25% women. A Y. M. C. A. in Toi Shan has one hundred women members. These are urging the organization of a Y.W.C.A.

Christian Schools and Rural Needs.—The *West China Missionary News*, May, 1929, contains an illuminating analysis of the relation of Christian schools to rural improvement under the caption, "Agriculture in West China Schools." It is well worth reading by all facing the rural relationships of the Church in China. Training of leaders for this work is laid upon the theological seminaries and, in this case, West China Union University. In addition summer schools, country normal schools and village discussion groups are urged. Particular emphasis is laid upon the necessity of utilizing secondary schools in this regard. Organiza-

tion of the agricultural program is laid upon the University. This institution, it is urged must get under the agricultural scheme. This it can do by research and investigation in agricultural problems; extension service to schools and farmers; training of specialists in biological and other sciences; teaching courses in agriculture. All this falls in line with the tendency of the Church in recent years to play a vital part in improving rural conditions. Inasmuch as the majority of its members live under rural conditions and these in turn have much to do with the problem of self-support or self-help it is eminently fitting that rural leaders should be created who may be able to lead the churches to help themselves along these lines. Incidentally, but nonetheless significantly, it is precisely in this connection that the Church comes squarely and mostly up against the problem of poverty in China. To a large extent this is an educational problem. It offers Christian schools, therefore, a chance to work into one of the greatest needs of Chinese Christians and China at one and the same time.

"The New Missionaries."—In our editorial columns, May, 1929 page 276, under the caption, "The New Missionaries" we put together certain facts pertaining to the numbers of such available. The results were not particularly encouraging. Since then the tide has turned. The number of new missionaries sailing in 1928 exceeded those in 1927 by one hundred. The number of new student volunteers, also, after showing a persistent decline since 1920, has begun to increase. As many students volunteered in the first four months of 1929 as in all of 1928. Nevertheless the replacement level has not yet been

reached. For three years North American Boards have sent out twenty-eight percent less than full replacements for the average annual losses through death and retirement. This assumes that the annual replacement for all missions should be 850; it is now four years since as many as that sailed in one year. If, however, the average missionary serves only fifteen instead of twenty years, as estimated above, then 1,137 new missionaries are needed each year just for replacement. It is now eight years since as many missionaries as that sailed in one year. All these figures concern only North American Missionary Boards. At least 1,500 new missionaries are needed annually to cover losses due to retirement from all mission fields. A study of the American student volunteers who sailed last year shows their average age to be over twenty-seven years. Of these sixty-two percent were women; nineteen percent being married women. Forty-three percent are from colleges and universities, while sixteen percent have been through a theological seminary. Apparently, however, only a little over forty percent of the new missionaries sailing from America in 1928 were fully enrolled student volunteers though more had been directly influenced by that movement.

Correlated Program of Christian Colleges.—For a long time the question of correlating the sixteen Christian colleges in China has been under consideration. On May, 27th 1929, the Council on Christian Higher Education met in Shanghai and reviewed this situation. Some progress has been made in East Central China where seven institutions, Nanking University, Shanghai College, St. John's University, Soochow University, Hangchow University,

Ginling College and a woman's medical institution in Shanghai have formed a centralized administrative body and agreed on some plan for graduate work. The plan to move Nanking University to Shanghai and make it the nucleus of an East China University is, however, still *sub judice*: the putting of graduate and college work on one campus is, also, still a matter of future development. There are also evident real difficulties as regards working the correlated program within the entire group of sixteen colleges. In principle that stimulating program is accepted. But a number of the institutions have plans of their own which do not gear easily into it: in other words, they confront an attractive ideal which involves the trimming down either of itself or the programs of the various institutions as already going on. This lack of whole-hearted support of the ideal of correlation is in the way of plans to raise money in the West for the strengthening of these institutions. The financial objective is Mexican \$27,000,000 for the sixteen colleges. Before the campaign for these funds can start the colleges themselves must raise Gold \$17,000 as a campaign fund. This has not yet been done. The New York Committee of Christian Colleges in China cannot, furthermore, set up the proposed campaign until the colleges come to more agreement as to the correlated program. The Council of Higher Education has, therefore, been asked to speed up the work of settling the details of the correlated program so as to finish it before December, 1929, with a view to enabling the New York Committee to start the financial campaign in 1930. This is a progressive program of tremendous significance for the future of Christian education in China. Its very

comprehensiveness alone makes it difficult. Inasmuch as it is in line with recent Christian aspirations to coordinate the work of the Church and all its allied agencies one can only hope that the difficulties will speedily be surmounted.

Communist Looting of Leng-na.

—On May 23, 1929, Leng-na, Fukiens, was suddenly attacked by a Communist army of two or three thousand men. That they were real Communists was evident from their slogans such as, "Russia gives the money; we give our lives." In the army, too, were a number of women Communists with red skirts. Previously there had been rumors of the approach of troops. Mr. Poppen was away in Amoy attending executive committee and special mission meeting, but Mrs. Poppen and the Hollemans did some packing that night to be ready to leave if necessary. Inquiry brought the answer that the approaching troops were bandits and that the local soldiers would go out to meet them. There were not many soldiers in Leng-na, only a few hundred, as the General had gone, with most of the soldiers, on an expedition to Kwangtung. The situation did not seem serious until word came that some parent had come for a boy in the school and had whispered that there were Communist troops coming. Word soon followed that the local troops were being driven back. At once things were quickly put together and the women and children started down the hill for the hospital. Dr. Holleman first went over to help Mrs. Poppen and then back to his house. They saw him starting away and expected to see him catching up soon. The retreating soldiers came nearer, and with the hospital employees the women and children started off from the hospital for the girls' school.

They advanced with the retreating soldiers through the streets. Shooting was close behind them. The wife of the preacher, living in the hospital, was a bit slow in starting. Her husband was away holding an evangelistic meeting. Dr. Holleman went back to help her with her baby and bundle of clothes. The soldiers of the Communist army came immediately on the heels of the retreating local soldiers. Dr. Holleman was seized. The women and children waited, hoping he would soon arrive. It was found best to leave the girls' school and go into hiding in a Chinese house. The soldiers of the Communist army broke into the three missionary houses to loot. They also came to the boys' and girls' schools but did little damage there, only putting their slogans on the walls: at the hospital also they took little.

By three o'clock in the afternoon, the army that had come so suddenly had departed. They looted the headquarters of the absent General. The missionary houses were plundered of everything. Local people seem to have suffered but little. Dr. Holleman was taken to see the devastated houses. Then they took him away. It is said some two hundred people saw him start off and told the soldiers of the good he had done in the community. The Communists said they needed him for some sick soldiers and seem to have treated him with consideration.

After spending a day and a night in hiding the women and children started for Amoy, dressed in Chinese clothes. It was impossible to get enough chairs, and so they had to take turns walking over the long road that ordinarily means a good day's journey to Eng-hok and another day to Nia-tau where boats are available. At Eng-hok the carriers of one chair failed them. A hospital employee and the principal of

the boys' school, who came to Amoy with them, helped to carry the younger children. In a heavy rain they plodded along for two days and part of two nights until they reached the boat. This brought them on May 26 to Changchow and later to Amoy. It was impossible to telegraph from Leng-na as wires were down. Similarly, from Changchow no message could be sent. Their arrival was the first news of what had happened.

Temple Hill Hospital, Chefoo.—

The report of this hospital for 1928 is the most encouraging of any made since its establishment in 1914. Inpatients numbered 948 and fees and donations totalled \$45,053. For the first time receipts on the field were sufficient to cover

expenses. Six employees and one bedridden patient were baptized and thirty-five inpatients and seven employees have expressed a desire to follow Christ. Chefoo has no isolation hospital. A serious case of smallpox, an American boy, presented, therefore, a specially difficult challenge. Two of the male nurses volunteered to "special" this patient. This all had to be done under strict quarantine. These "real nurses" showed a true spirit of service!

BIRTH.

On June 7, at the Kuling Hospital, to Bishop and Mrs. D. T. Hungtingdon, a daughter, Elizabeth Catherine.

Notes on Contributors

Mr. T. A. BISSON was in China from 1924-1928 as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church. He was engaged in educational work and was one of the editors of the "China Outlook." In 1928 he resigned to pursue Chinese Studies in America. He expects to return to China.

Miss Nettie MABELLE SINGER, A.B., B.D., is a member of the Church of the Brethren Mission. She arrived in China twenty-one years ago. She has been engaged in village evangelistic work in and around Liao Chow, Shansi.

Dr. JOHN J. HEEREN, M.A., B.D., is a member of the American Presbyterian Mission, North. He has been in China seventeen years. He is head of the History Department of Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung.

Rev. W. A. NOBLE, Ph.D., is a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church in Korea, where he arrived in 1892. He is stationed in Seoul.

Rev. FRANZ HUHN is a member of the Berlin Missionary Society. He arrived in China in 1909. Up to 1922 he engaged in evangelistic work. Since 1923 he has been principal of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Canton.

Rev. VICTOR E. SWENSON is a member of the Lutheran Augustana Synod Mission. He arrived in China in 1913. He has been engaged in evangelistic work.

Dr. K. A. BAIRD, M.D., C.M., was from 1921 to 1926 a missionary to China under the Presbyterian Church in Canada. After two years of Language study he spent the major part of his time in hospital work.

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